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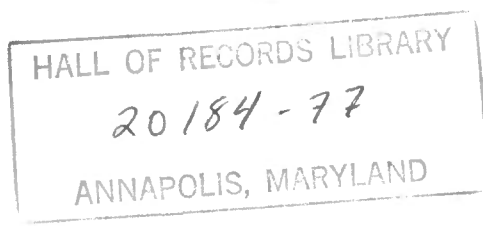
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Lady With a Harp: Eliza Ridgely, (1818)

By Thomas Sully (1783-1872). Oil on canvas, 2.145 × 1.425 m (84-3/8" × 56-1/8").

Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington [No. 831]. Gift of Maude Monell Vetlesen. Reproduced by permission.

Letters as Literature: The Prestons of Baltimore

VIRGINIA WALCOTT BEAUCHAMP

WHEN MADGE PRESTON, WIFE OF A PROMINENT BALTIMORE ATTORNEY, complimented her husband on his charming and entertaining letters, he wrote back—this was August 1, 1865:

That you should dub my letters bright scintillations of the morning while you characterize your own as dull and prosy is rather wicked.

Calling on the supporting judgment of her niece Theodosia, who lived with them and helped to manage the duties of their household, Preston went on:

Thede says and insists upon it that you are "the best letter writer that ever lived" I said "except Lady Mary Wortley Montague—Madam de Stael and Corinne" She says she "never received any letters from these persons but she has no doubt they couldn't hold a candle to Aunt"y"¹

Probably Preston knew the epistolary achievements of Lady Mary and de Stael only by reputation. His blurring of the distinction between de Stael, the author, and Corinne, the character of her most famous novel, suggests unfamiliarity with the actual works of these celebrated ladies. Yet the allusion makes clear his assumption of possibilities for serious literary achievement in the epistolary form itself. Nor is his compliment to his wife mere gallantry; among their circle of friends her reputation as a writer of letters of skill and charm seems to have been unequalled—except perhaps by his own.

Possibly some aspiration for posthumous acclaim prompted the Prestons to preserve their extensive correspondence. Lady Mary Wortley Montague's reputation, after all, developed largely after her death—gained from the spectacular success of those letters which she wrote from Turkey, where she had accompanied her diplomat husband.² The Preston correspondence is most voluminous during the years 1847–1870, when travel in connection with his law practice or her social visiting or foreign touring drew them apart; but a major section as well includes an extensive exchange of letters with their only child, their daughter, May.³

May was drawn early into the family's appreciation of well written letters. From their home on a farm estate near Towsontown, the present Towson, May had written to her father, away on business in the city. On February 5, 1855, he

Dr. Beauchamp is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Maryland, College Park.

wrote the following reply:

My dear May,

I am delighted to see, that you are able to write to me, your letter has given me more pleasure than any letter I have ever received. You have improved wonderfully and I dare say in a very short time you will be able to write without difficulty to all your friends. What a pleasure this will be to you and how gratifying to all who take pleasure in well informed little girls. I shall not destroy your letter, but shall keep it to remind me in years to come, of what my dear daughter could do before she was six years old.—. . .⁴

By the time May was 16 and a school girl at St. Joseph's Academy at Emmitsburg, Maryland, she had become an accomplished artist herself in the epistolary form.

Her mother, Madge, viewed the writing of letters—the strengthening of the bonds of friendly association—as a major female responsibility; and she nurtured these skills in her daughter.

I am glad Pauline wrote to you, and hope you will answer her letter; while on the subject of letters, let me give you a little instruction on that subject— Be sure always to *date* your letters distinctly— and *do not* begin them *so far down the page* as you do, a letter so commenced has an exceedingly awkward appearance— if you write on ruled paper, it is usually ruled so as to show you where to begin— let me see my child that you remember in future, what I have suggested. . . .⁵

Before the 13-year-old May had gone to St. Joseph's, her mother had been her major teacher.⁶ When Madge at any time reassumed the role, she taught through encouragement and appreciation:

I dont recollect if I mentioned in my last letter, but if I did not, it will not hurt to repeat it again, my great satisfaction at your evident effort to please me in your hand writing and the beginning of your letter. Papa also noticed it and made satisfactory comments upon both. So you see my child nothing is lost upon us, and when you do not come up to our reasonable expectations, the pain is in proportion to the pleasure your efforts to improve give us. We are particularly anxious about your writing, as we class that, among the higher accomplishments; your letters also, are often read by our neighbors, and I do not like them to see evidences of carelessness, though I must give you the satisfaction of knowing, that your letters are read with great pleasure and receive warm commendations from all quarters.⁷

There we have it—the sense of an audience larger than the letter's single recipient, a letter passed lovingly and admiringly from hand to hand, scrutinized by many eyes. Madge's to May enchanted all May's school-girl friends and drew admiration as well from some of the Sisters who ran the school. For that larger audience, Madge knew that the letter's content must be well chosen and well expressed. Still the encouraging instructor, Madge made her views explicit in another letter to May:

. . . you have an agreeable faculty of catching at those little incidents in a somewhat monotonous life, that are pleasant and interesting to know, and a sprightly way of expressing yourself, which is well calculated by practice to make you, what is so desirable all should be, an easy and graceful letter writer.⁸

dark I could scarcely see houses trees or even the fine barns so much admired by little Walter. . . .¹²

Here is literature indeed! Its sense of the specific audience is exquisite—the shared joke about father’s lectures on early rising, the documented impact on the writer (in her sleepless night, her longing for the convent bell) that the letter’s recipient is beloved; the reference to May’s interest in antiques; the allusion to experiences shared on the journey north (the old lady with the lump on her neck, the exclamations of young Walter Abell, who had traveled with them). And its recreation of an experience, precisely from the viewpoint of the writer, is superb—the “barbarous” driver, his “rough voice,” the passenger’s desperate and unavailing efforts to cope with the vicissitudes of her travel, the references to her mental and physical state.

And yet even these noteworthy qualities do not exhaust the excellencies of the passage. Madge’s playfulness with language—the similes of vessel in a storm, of an animal in convulsions; the metaphor of “the hysterical creature”—add to the reader’s pleasure. So does the concreteness of detail. This is a letter worthy of any reader—not just the little girl for whom it was specifically intended. One can understand why May would have shared it among her companions. And in one sense perhaps, in so well recreating a sense of life as lived in a time long past, its message is more precious to ourselves—the unintended, unknown, unimaginable readers of Madge’s posterity. If works of literature should transcend the circumstances of their writing, should appeal to universal audiences, this letter, I would argue, meets that test.

A letter on her sewing machine—similarly playful—recreates for twentieth-century readers what has been outside our own experience, we who have grown up in a world dominated by technology—the excitement of new possibilities latent in the concept of machine itself. The letter is a paean of appreciation.

Rejoice with me my dear child in the good fortune that has just befallen me— Behold me the possessor of a Sewing Machine! —Yes! there it stands in all its beauty and all its usefulness, the very personification of all my wishes with regard to good household fairies, who are to sit cheerfully working and toiling for me, while I enjoy the delights of a book—a good bracing walk over the green fields, or a hunt in the dear old woods for chesnuts, or the more quiet pleasure of social conversation with a friend. . . . You would be amused to see us looking over it, examining all its simple yet wonderful machinery, and touching each different ingenious and useful little adjustment, as though they were the wings of the beautiful creature, and must not be handled too roughly!¹³

Madge’s diary entry of that date is self-aware about the tone of her letter, and yet the tone of the diary passage reveals the underlying sincerity of the emotion expressed in the letter:

We . . . reached home at three, bringing with us our little fairy as we call the Machine. The dear, beautiful thing, we gave it a warm welcome and the seat of honor was at once awarded to it. I have written May a letter giving her a playful account of its advent to Pleasant Plains. I am so happy to think I am the owner of a Sewing Machine!

Returning to the subject in a different context—this time aboard the steamer *Berlin* on an Atlantic crossing in 1868—Madge wrote to her husband:

My self love may have flattered my vanity and caused me to think you will be interested in these trifles, but I cannot help judging you by myself and I know that at this distance from you, the least word, look, or action of yours & our friends in America would be treasured beyond Gold.⁹

Madge's diary entries show her concern with epistolary responsibilities—the noting of letters written and letters received—but also her special sense of audience and context: “I rose early this morning and wrote a long letter (14 pages) to May, giving her a funny description of my ride in the old stage &c &c. . . .”¹⁰ In a letter to May, Madge tells of the pains she has taken with her response to another juvenile correspondent:

I rec'd a few days since, a very nicely written and well worded letter, from dear Charley Simmons. The boy wrote by his Mother's request having heard that you were away for the winter, she thought I must be lonely. . . . I have just answered Charley's letter. . . . I ransacked my brains for all the funny things I could find in them—to write to the boy and please him.¹¹

Madge's first letter to May at school established the former's reputation among the school girls and Sisters at St. Joseph's. Concerned that the 13-year-old might suffer from homesickness, Madge, to entertain her, wrote a sprightly description of the return trip after leaving her daughter. At an Emmitsburg inn, where she spent her first night away from May, Madge had met an old gentleman who turned out to have been a close friend of members of her family in Philadelphia. “It was so pleasant to talk over old times and old friends,” she wrote,

that I sat till nine oclock, and almost forgetting, that the barbarous stage driver, had told me I must be ready for traveling by four oclock the next morning. I tried to excite the sympathies of the old gentleman in my annoyance of getting up so early, but I found he was, like your father an advocate for early rising and only laughed at my distress. Of course I slept very little the first night away from my dear little daughter, and was not sorry to hear the rough voice of the driver, at three oclock in the morning, at my door telling me to “get up.” We left Emmittsburg, before four oclock, too early, for me to hear, once more the sound of the old Convent bell and to know you also, were listening to the same sweet tones. There were no passengers in the Stage but myself, and the consequence was, that the great lumbering clumsy Stage, (which by the way, was sufficiently old, to have satisfied even a greater lover of antiquity than yourself) went jumping from side to side and pitching forward and backwards, heaving up and down for want of ballast, like a huge vessel in a storm at sea, or some mighty animal in convulsions. I tried to stay myself by seizing hold of the sides of the coach, and again by gathering together the soft cushions on the seats and lying down, but all to no purpose, the old Stage in its eagerness to get to its journey's end went tumbling about worse than ever, until I was forced to give in, and let the hysterical creature bounce me down at Union Bridge, only too thankful that none of my bones were broken, and that I still retained sufficient of my senses to ask the good, kind old lady with the lump on her neck, for the breakfast, of which I stood so much in need, for be it remembered, that this long journey of sixteen miles, over these terrible rough roads were taken on an empty stomach and part of the time so

One instance of Madge's epistolary playfulness went astray, when her daughter—and even the school principal—misread the letter's arch intent. Madge had described the acquisition of a kitten—referred to in the letter as "our little pet," who repays by "her love and pleasant ways." Madge goes on to describe the family's visit to a recently vacated cottage on their property, where

they heard a plaintive little voice . . . , which . . . they soon found proceeded from this poor little thing. . . . It was at once picked up and brought up to the house where warm and nourishing food, and a comfortable bed was at once provided and we soon had the pleasure of seeing our little foundling or rather our own Eureka open its eyes, stretch its white and beautiful limbs, spread out its soft arms as if to embrace and thank us for our kindness, look its love and then fall off to sleep again. And thus the little thing has been living with us since that time, and now it only depends upon you to say whether it shall for the future be considered as one of our household, share in its comforts pleasures and prosperities, or be given to some other person who will adopt it. . . .¹⁴

Since only the year before the Prestons had taken into their home an orphan boy, who was working as a hand on the farm and whose education at a school in Baltimore they were arranging for, May's inference that the "pet" was an infant, whose adoption awaited only her approval, is perhaps not difficult to understand. ("Pet" is often also a term of endearment by Madge to May.)

"How shall I begin to tell you the state of excitement your last letter has thrown me into!" May responded. "Did you mean that we have a real child at Pleasant Plains? . . . If it is a *real child by all means take it*." After expanding on her often repeated and sincere prayers for a sister, May asks that the supposed child be baptized with the name of Maud. Then she concludes: "I do not know whether I am talking about a person or an animal. Oh! Mama please never write that way again, be sure and let me know what you mean. . . ."¹⁵ Madge's February 15th diary entry and a contrite letter the following day express her distress over the confusion her metaphorical language has induced:

My dear, generous, noble hearted little child! How can I ever forgive myself for the pain and anxiety my thoughtless folly has caused you! In my foolish desire of writing something to please and amuse you I forgot, that that, very "something" might produce a contrary effect. . . .¹⁶

Madge's self-consciousness, her attempt to be literary—to write playfully and by indirection—had disrupted her intention to communicate. Yet the set of letters—mother's first description of the new pet, daughter's excited yet troubled answer, mother's apologetic response—may to other readers create the stuff of literature. The drama of human interaction which they convey is no less affecting because it is real.

If a sprightly style and minute, concrete details were elements prized by Madge Preston in letters she received, so also was a certain degree of reticence in letters she sent out. On the first day of the new year in 1864, Madge recorded in her diary a new enterprise in communicating with May:

I have begun to day a kind of Journal or daily letter for May, which I will send as opportunity offers, thus the child will be kept informed of the principle events of our

home life, at least such as are pleasant—the unhappy ones I will retain for myself alone. . . .

The unhappy ones were intruding more and more into the record of the diary. Preston, suspiciously, was spending more and more nights in the city—especially when the obese German housekeeper of the townhouse where he kept his law offices could be prevailed upon to visit the country. Notations about quarrels become frequent subjects of the diary. Madge was more and more distressed over the continuing presence in the household of Theodosia and her older sister Rose and at Preston's apparent infatuation with the latter. By the next year he was striking Madge. She suffered a black eye—even a concussion. "I really think Mr. Preston is insane," she confided to her diary.

Yet the letters to May reflect primarily the happy times. The troubling husband of real life moves through the letters as that pleasant character, "your dear Papa." His frequent and extended absences are attributed to the exigencies of his legal practice. Often the letters show Madge's daydreams about May's happy schoolgirl days—the happiest of her life, Madge counsels, before the cares and troubles of adulthood come to weigh her down. Madge almost encourages May to think of joining the fellowship of the Sisters of Charity. Thus is Madge's true pain disguised and sublimated, and the letters form a kind of fiction. With the accompanying diary entries, we are able to read it.

Madge was the principal letter writer during all this period. Preston had begun a letter to his daughter on Christmas Day, 1863, resumed it on January 3 with protestations of "how sad and depressed I am at times," and finally finished on May 19, his daughter's 15th birthday. The 15 pages of his letter set a precedent followed in succeeding years: that the number of pages in May's birthday letter should equal her number of years.

The January 3 section of the 1864 birthday letter contains a statement which is Preston's theory of the letter:

At the foot of the last page I was interrupted and laid the letter aside, I now resume it, and at the hazzard of sending you a broken disjointed epistle jot down whatever thought presents itself. In fact letters ought not to be straightlaced—rule-and-square productions—the best are those that are written with perfect freedom—unshackled by conventional phrases in order to gratify arbitrary rules of etiquette.¹⁷

He was less tolerant, however, when his daughter found means to express herself with the same "perfect freedom."

Her letters are virtually always neatly written—in fact, carefully transcribed for the perusal of the Sister charged with the teaching of writing. Only two or three letters, written at Gettysburg or Emmitsburg inns, show the difference. There, where May was spending a night with schoolgirl friends and their visiting parents, May divulged secrets she felt compelled to withhold from the Sisters. (Her letters too held their reticences.) Such letters were scribbled and crossed-out, apologized for by the dim candlelight and inadequate writing posture.

Yet Preston found them appalling. Nevertheless, he confined these opinions to letters to Madge. For May he wrote encouragingly:

It affords me great pleasure to be able to say that your various letters have given evidence of your continued improvement. Your orthography is good—your selection

of words satisfactory—and the current of your sentiments, as well as the sentiments themselves indicate reflection and a very fair understanding. (January 3, 1864)

Preston's letters are full of literary allusions. This passage, in fact, follows immediately a disquisition on nostalgia for home as a source of literature of merit—from a stanza he quotes from Byron, to a reference to Grey's *Elegy*, to allusions to Scott, Burns, "Orators, historians, essayists &c".

Fictions or not (and the frequent separations of the Prestons and the troubled passages in Madge's diary suggest that they are), the letters exchanged by the Prestons read delightfully like the effusions of a mutually enamored couple. His often assume a literary stance—a kind of elegant self-consciousness calling attention to itself (like the playing with form in the number of pages of the birthday letters). A passage in one of his letters to Madge clearly sets the epistle within the parameters of our greatest treasure:

The pleasure of seeing you and May would be greater than that of writing to you. The pleasure of writing to our friends is certainly very great—whether we owe it to Cadmus the Phoenician or Palamedes the Greek matters but little, whoever may have been the inventor of letters, certainly was better entitled to divine honors than others whom the Greeks and Romans for very trifling services, or from ridiculous considerations made Gods of—but after all writing is not seeing—ten thousand things which we can personally orally convey to our friends are rarely communicated by letter.¹⁸

To Madge, the writing of letters was more obligation—a woman's task:

... since my return from the North I have had so much to look after—seed planting—little chickens—house cleaning—and spring sewing, together with a number of letters to answer which had accumulated during my absence...¹⁹

She encourages in May the assumption of this responsibility:

If you can—I really wish you would answer the child's letter, as the whole family really seem hurt that you have not answered any of their letters, also, write to dear little Charley Simmons. . . . I think it no more than proper, that you pay the little boy that attention.²⁰

But writing to May is also a major pleasure, and as we know from Madge's diary, a major psychological satisfaction and release:

If I do not write you as long a letter as you wish you must scold Papa for making himself so agreeable to Thede and I to night— I have actually been trying to tear myself away from the little circle, ever since tea time, but each time I moved away, something pleasant and agreeable was said to call me back again. At last I jumped up, saying I would talk to no one for the next hour, or at least till after a short chat with my little daughter.²¹

There is no posing in Madge's style. Even the arch letter on the kitten that was misread so disastrously was designed to delight and entertain the receiver, not—like so many of Preston's—to enhance the sender. Madge rarely tries to be clever (and then only to amuse). Primarily her letters are supportive and direct—vignettes of life teeming around her and in which she participates.

One of my favorite passages depicts her in what was surely her most cherished role:

Well my little Pet, I suppose you see in your "minds eye" if you are in a meditative humour to night, the vision of an old lady, seated at a convenient and comfortable looking writing desk, with papers and letters and envelopes, books &c &c scattered in an apparent wild confusion over it, and by looking a little closely you are made conscious, that old lady, is your own dear Mama and she is engaged in the pleasant task of writing to her darling child. The vision is a reality my little one, and here I am prepared for a good long talk . . . this stormy sabbath evening.²²

Here, in a private communication, is the motif so frequent in the works of our time—the interpenetration of art and life. Except for the autobiography, in no other literary genre is the self-portrait so appropriate—as Madge herself put it, "the least word, look, or action . . . that we treasure beyond Gold."

Madge claimed that she did not know how to entertain her correspondents with gossip.²³ She meant to criticize her epistolary style. Yet her own instinct, it seems to me, led her to put down in letters what, in fact, endures—a personal viewpoint that engages us. Concretely and with complexity, she was able to convey her own consciousness—not merely to the particular correspondents to whom she directed her letters, but to us all.

The "gossip" that she felt her correspondents preferred can be the material of social history. It can help us to reconstruct the ways in which people of other times have lived and interrelated.²⁴ To tell us what they did in the past—that is history. But to evoke the past, or the present, to stir our imaginations and enrapture us—that is literature.

REFERENCES

1. From the William P. Preston papers, MS.978, Box 10, in the Manuscripts collection of the library of the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD 21201, hereinafter designated MHS. All spellings and punctuation in the quoted material are reproduced as in the original.
2. See Robert Halsband, "Ladies of Letters in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Lady of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar (Los Angeles: William Andres Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1969), pp. 29–51. I am indebted to my colleague Professor Calhoun Winton for calling this volume to my attention.
3. The correspondence is held primarily in two repositories, the Maryland Historical Society collection previously cited and the Archives and Manuscripts Department of the McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park. One volume, Madge Preston's 1868 diary, in the Rare Book Room of the Milton Eisenhower Library of the Johns Hopkins University, is actually her careful recopying into a bound blank book of letters sent to family members and friends describing the travels in Europe of herself and her daughter, May.
4. MHS.
5. January 30, 1863. University of Maryland, hereinafter designated UM.
6. For a few months in 1860 May had had a governess.
7. February 13, 1863. UM.
8. March 13, 1863. UM.
9. 1868 Diary volume, p. 15, Johns Hopkins University. The origin of this acquisition is not known. It was presented anonymously. Since Johns Hopkins himself was a friend of the Prestons, intimate enough that young May embroidered the old gentleman a pair of slippers and spent several weeks with him and his sister on their estate, Clifton, it is interesting to speculate that this carefully recopied volume of letters from Madge's and May's European trip might have been a gift to him personally.
10. September 20, 1862. The diary is in the Maryland Historical Society collection, MS.1861, as is the 1864 diary cited below.

11. December 9, 1862. UM.
12. September 20, 1862. UM.
13. October 17, 1864. UM.
14. February 9, 1865. UM.
15. February 13, 1865. MHS, MS.978, Box 12.
16. February 16, 1865. UM. The 1865 diary is in the same collection.
17. UM.
18. August 4, 1865. MHS, MS.978, Box 10.
19. Madge to May, May 26, 1863. UM.
20. Madge to May, June 8, 1863. UM.
21. March 11, 1866. MHS, MS.978, Box 12.
22. March 3, 1867. MHS, MS.978, Box 12.
23. Madge to May, December 8, 1864. UM.
24. An example of a study in social history that draws on material similar to "gossip" would be Nancy F. Cott's "Eighteenth-Century Family and Social Life Revealed in Massachusetts Divorce Records," in *A Heritage of Her Own*, Ed. Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 107-135. Another example would be Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).

"Down street" in Cumberland: The Diaries of Two Nineteenth-Century Ladies

HÉLÈNE L. BALDWIN

IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ALLEGANY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY REPOSES a historical treasure—diaries of upper-class women of the nineteenth century in Cumberland.¹ One diary, from 1857 to 1865, is that of Mrs. William W. McKaig; another is that of Miss Mazie Bruce, dating roughly from 1887 to 1889. Mrs. McKaig was the wife of the first mayor of Cumberland; he was also president of the Frostburg Coal Company and his son became acquainted with President Buchanan while they were both vacationing at Bedford Springs. Thus Mrs. McKaig had an assured social position in town. The Bruce family evidently was acquainted with the McKaigs and, judging from Mazie Bruce's diary, they had an extensive social life.² The diaries give an excellent picture of the daily life of nineteenth-century upper-class women in a small city.³

The basis of social relations in the nineteenth century was the social call. Calling cards were very important; they were taken to a house by the caller, and the servant then carried them to the lady of the house, who decided if she were "at home" or not. If the lady of the house was not "at home," a lady left her own card and two of her husband's, presumably because husbands were more important than wives. If a corner of the card were turned down, this meant that the card had been delivered in person with the intention of calling and not just left at the house by a servant. Cards were placed on a silver tray in the hall to impress others who would see who had called. Most fashionable ladies had a special "at home" day for receiving visitors. Some calls—those after marriage, childbirth, or in acknowledgement of hospitality—were ceremonial calls. Three to four in the afternoon was the proper hour for ceremonial calls, four to five for semi-ceremonial, five to six for intimate calls. One sees how the five-to-six hour for intimate calls was shaded into our "cocktail" hour. Sunday was not a day for calls; it was reserved for worship and for seeing family members and intimate friends. All calls were supposed to be short, with light pleasant conversation and no touchy subjects. Outdoor clothing was retained to show that one did not intend to stay long. Special cards marked "PPC"—"pour prendre congé"—were left to show that the family would be away for a while.⁴

Neither Mrs. McKaig nor Miss Bruce mentions leaving calling cards, but whether this was because they took the custom for granted or because it was not

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practiced in a small city such as Cumberland is unknown. However, both diaries frequently mention calling. For instance, on January 25, 1864, Mrs. McKaig writes:

A beautiful day—a continuation of pleasant weather for several days. Had a visit from Mary Perry and Mrs. Taylor, also Mrs. O'Neal—walked out this afternoon and made several visits, namely to Mrs. Offutt, Mr. John Edwards, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. D. Bruce. . . . I called also to see Mrs. Hebb, she was not at home. I did not see her. Mrs. Patterson called.

Thus she called on five women and four women called on her—in one day! On a shopping trip on January 26, she writes:

met with Mrs. Black, on the street, she came home with me also Mary Perry—we had a very pleasant chat for an hour. Whilst they were here Mrs. Duncan and Mrs. Gordon came in, also Mr. Black. William and I took a long walk. We had another delightful day—remarkable weather.

Remarkable weather for January in Cumberland it must have been, or there would not have been so many calls. Yet again on February 12, 1864, she comments:

A very bright clear day. Miss Patterson called this morning. . . . Mary Perry called and took a family dinner with us. Took a short walk this afternoon, found the wind quite cool and unpleasant, not feeling very well I made my walk short. Miss Maria Bruce and Lizie called.

On March 3, 1864, she calls on her sister: ". . . found Mary Perry there, they insisted on my staying to tea. I did go and enjoyed my tea very much." Through this and other references, we recognize that afternoon tea was still a regular "meal" in Cumberland in the Civil War period.

The habit of calling did not die out in the 1880s and '90s. It is a rare day when Mazie Bruce's diary does not show her calling on someone or being called on. For example:

Monday, Aug. 22, 1887. Aunt Virginia Bruce was here to tea and Colonel Avirett.
Monday, Oct. 17, 1887. This afternoon Mamma and I went down street.⁵ Then we went to see Mrs. Sally Shriver. Afterwards I went to Mr. Bainbridges. Mr. B. and I played poker. Had a very nice evening indeed. Mollie came for me.

As a young unmarried lady, Mazie Bruce had to be accompanied on evening calls, and in her diary she frequently notes "Richard [her brother] came for me." Generally speaking, however, the British writers on Victorian manners note that chaperonage was less necessary in America because American girls were more independent and American men were excessively chivalrous.⁶ One last example of Miss Bruce's calling and being called upon is amusing:

Wed., Jan. 18, 1888. This afternoon after reading a while I went down to see Mrs. Ellis found her ill with a terrible cold. Then I went down street to meet Mamma and I went to Auntie Hebb's found her better. Tonight Mr. Bainbridge and Mr. Patterson were here. Mamma and Aunt entertained the latter in the library and I sat with the former in the hall.

This division of the guests may represent a minimal form of chaperonage.

In England and perhaps in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, dinner was the highest form of entertainment except for balls. In the eighteenth century, dinner had been served early, around two in the afternoon⁷ before people went out to public entertainments. But in the nineteenth century, much public entertainment was not considered genteel or suitable for ladies. Also, gas lighting had come in, which was more convenient than candlelight for preparing a late dinner. Thus the dinner hour gradually moved later into the evening, and *Martine's Handbook of Etiquette* gives it as seven p.m. The famous dinner party in Howells' *The Rise of Silas Lapham* takes place in the evening. However, the McKaig and Bruce diaries indicate that both in the Civil War period and in the 1890s dinner in the late middle of the day was still the custom in Cumberland, even for upper-class families, with tea about five o'clock.

In America, where there were fewer servants waiting on tables, a gentleman or a friend carves the roast, according to Martine. Martine also cautions that if the servants break anything during dinner, one should not turn around to correct them.⁸ However, the lady of the house may vanish into the kitchen if necessary without apology.⁹ In the United States, the ladies did not usually withdraw to leave the gentlemen to their port, as was done in England. However, perhaps because dinner was still taken in the early afternoon, neither Mrs. McKaig nor Miss Bruce makes any comments on dinner-time etiquette or customs.

Other forms of entertainment included, for Mrs. McKaig at least, evening parties. For example,

... an entertainment or festival for the benefit of the Cumberland Academy—to purchase a chemical and Philosophical apparatus. We propose to have a supper, and all the delicacies and nice things that can be got, charge admission at the door and take all the money inside we can get, honestly and hope for success, more of this after next Tewesday.

The ladies were successful in their enterprise for the Academy: "We more than realized our most sanguine expectations. We received about \$200.25 and will clear about \$200, [*sic*] Mr. Weld, our teacher in the Academy is very much gratified." However, a plan to have "another festival or oyster supper" in order to make more money did not succeed: "Did not do very well at the supper only took in about 40 dollars. Some busy bodies got up a prejudice against it all. Base envy withers at another's joy and Hates that excellence it can not reach."¹⁰ But there were grander festivities than such money-making public suppers:

Cumberland has been unusually gay this winter, two parties a week some times, There was a Calico party at Jones's and a masquerade ball at Mrs. Lowndes. Tommy [her son] went in the character of Richard the Third, wore an elegant costume, and looked very well.

A grim form of entertainment was to watch a hanging; Mrs. McKaig records on March 7, 1851, "Maglaucklin was hung today for the murder of his wife, a great crowd of people was here to witness the horrid scene . . ."

Miss Bruce does not mention any evening parties or dances, which is rather surprising as she was twenty-three at the time of writing her diary. But she and

her friends have other forms of entertainment; they spend their time writing letters, sewing, and visiting one another. They read out loud a good deal. Miss Bruce loves to attend baseball games and cheer the Cumberland team. On Oct. 22, 1887, she went to the theater: "Tonight went to see Kate Clayton in 'The Two Orphans.' It was very good indeed, every character was well supported. Her husband, Charles A. Stephenson, is a splendid actor." In October 1888, Mazie and her sister Jean were in Baltimore shopping for the latter's trousseau:

... a lovely pink crepe de chine dress for evening, a light blue breakfast sack ... her travelling dress ... will be awfully stylish a dark red cloth trimmed with black moire silk. ... her visiting dress is gray and is lovely.

And of course all the Victorian young ladies made endless calls—until that happy day when someone proposed and they were married and became mistresses of grand houses like the Josiah Gordon house and many others on Washington Street in Cumberland. Unfortunately, Mazie Bruce herself did not get married.

Catharine Beecher's *Treatise on Domestic Economy* gives us a picture of the work necessary to keep the large nineteenth century home running. She advocates a regular yearly schedule: in the winter, there were the usual tasks and the keeping up of fires; in the spring, cleaning of the whole house, washing and bleaching of the linen. In the summer, winter curtains were replaced by summer ones, furs and woolen clothes were brushed, aired, and put away in camphor. In summer also, the mending and sewing were done, the sheets turned sides to middle or patched. In June and July, fruits and vegetables were preserved. In October and November, the summer clothing and curtains were replaced by the winter ones, and in December, much time was spent preparing for Christmas. The mistress of the house did the marketing and kept the housekeeping account book.¹¹ Mrs. McKaig writes her expenditures in her diary—expenditures which astonish us by their smallness. In addition all to this work, until bathrooms came in, slop pails had to be emptied several times a day. Servants were an absolute necessity to keep the huge houses clean and warm and also to provide and serve food for the endless stream of callers. It is a little hard to figure out the normal number of servants for the McKaig family, disturbed as it was by the Civil War, but probably there were three—a cook, a washerwoman, and a man to do yard work and to take care of the carriage and horses. These servants were often black and normally lived in the home. If they had one or two small children, their offspring appear to have lived in the home also.

The importance of servants can be seen in the distress of both Mrs. McKaig and Mazie Bruce when a servant leaves or a new one is needed. In the middle of the Civil War, Mrs. McKaig mentions "Elizabeth, the only servant I had, left ... Merwin [her youngest son] and I made the fires and got breakfast, done all the work. Got a colored girl today. She seems to be smart and to know how to work." Subsequent entry shows this girl did not live in. Later on, Mrs. McKaig writes: "Julia the yellow woman became alarmed by the news of the rebels coming and left in a hurry, left the clothes half ironed. ... I am this evening left without any servant or anyone to do the work." On May 6, 1864, she writes: "Not much of a dinner as I cooked it myself. ... Got a woman today to clean the steps and hall." On July 1, 1864, she is weary: "No servants but a small boy. I feel very

much worn out with cooking and working." Later, she evidently has two servants, a colored cook, who was a good one, and a "Dutch" woman to clean. At another time she speaks of the servants' rooms: "Had the servants' rooms white-washed and cleaned up today."

The "Elizabeth" who left during the war had been with the McKaigs since 1857, at least. On Aug. 4, 1857, Mrs. McKaig writes:

We went up to Westernport to purchase Elizabeth a coloured woman we formerly owned but sold to Dr. Gustel about five years ago, she was very anxious to get back, and has made many promises as to future good conduct, if we take her home again. I have reluctantly consented, and brought her home this day Wednesday 5th. I sincerely hope she will conduct herself properly and prove a good and valuable servant. She brings with her one child a boy about 2 yr. old named John.

This little boy John unfortunately died October 15, 1862, with "an ulcerated sore throat." Although Mrs. McKaig sympathized with the Southern side during the war, she evidently had liking and respect for some of her black servants, as shown in this entry of July 25, 1860: "This day William West, colored man, died, he had been living with us about 3 yrs., an honest faithful trusty servant—disease inflammation of the stomach, died very suddenly—we did not consider him in danger."

With or without servants, Mrs. McKaig did or supervised a great deal of heavy household work. In 1851, she put pork in brine, got four tongues and put them in pickle, hung meat to smoke, bought half a mutton. In contrast to Mrs. McKaig, in the whole of Mazie Bruce's diary servants are only mentioned once. On Nov. 17, 1887, she says: "Mamma and I spent the afternoon hunting a cook. Put in hours!" And on the eighteenth she adds, "Went down street this morning for a buggy and then I drove all around looking for a cook but have not found one yet. . . ." Later, the Bruces boarded—that is, paid to eat their meals with another family for a while, presumably because of the servant problem. But very soon again we find them having people to dinner or tea, which may indicate that they obtained a cook or that they decided to do the work themselves. But the diary never alludes to any cooking or housekeeping done by Mazie Bruce except occasionally helping out during spring or fall housecleaning.

One of Mrs. McKaig's deepest concerns was the education of her sons. One of the first entries in the diary, January 1, 1851, written by Mr. McKaig, announces that "Tommy commenced reading Caesar in Latin on the 20th Dec. 1850. He was then in the 10th year of his age." Another early entry, September 14, 1857, concerns the academy in which we know Mrs. McKaig was interested:

The Academy was opened with a new teacher Mr. Golby from Chestertown, he was Professor in the college there, said to be a fine scholar, and we are quite pleased with him, he has been sick with chill and fevers ever since he came.

The diary lapsed for a few years; then was taken up again regularly by Mrs. McKaig, who records on March 1, 1857: "My son Thomas has continued in College at Princeton regularly and is now there and in his sophomore class." On March 1, 1857, she writes:

This day we wrote to Tommy at Princeton and sent him \$10. I Paid his College bills

by draft to Dr. McLean for \$168 and gave Tommy \$20 on leaving home and sent him in a letter \$10, and now \$10 more, making for this session up to this date the sum of \$188. June 17th I sent him \$78.75 making \$266.75 for this session."

Her son Beall was not neglected:

Our son Beall commenced taking music lessons on the piano with Miss Carpenter on the 22 day of January 1856 and took lessons for two quarters. She then left town. He progressed very well and learned to play a number of tunes.

On May 7, 1857, she tells: "Beall commenced his first lessons on the piano with Mr. Weisel. He is now in the 9th year of his age. We had taken 2 quarter lessons from Miss Carpenter in 1856." Seven years later, on August 20, 1863, Beall is ready to go to college: "Gave Beall a party they had a very pleasant time all seemed to enjoy themselves very much. He expects to leave home in a few days to go to college." On March 1, 1864, she writes:

Packed Beall's trunk this evening. I suppose he will leave with his Father in the morning for Baltimore, to go to school. God grant he may do well—prosecute his studies with industry and perseverance and make a scholar and a gentleman.

On March 5 of the following year, she writes: "I am very anxious to hear how Beall likes the school, and if he got all his things to please him. I hope I may hear this evening." She did hear from Beall indirectly through his father on March 5, 1864:

I received a letter from William this evening, he says he took Beall out to Chesnut Hill, Mr. Gibson was in the City on Thursday—hearing that they were there he called at Banum's to see them, he went out with them. Beall seemed pleased, he got all his things, a handsome watch, costing \$85, a rapper, pr slipper, pr pants and napking ring. I hope he will do well and keep his health.

By October 25, 1858, another son is ready for college:

Willie left for Washington College, with a very good outfit in the way of cloathes, and \$20 to expenses and any books—went alone. His Pa being engaged in Court, I hope he will arrive safely and do well. I consider he was well prepared to enter.

A few days later, on October 30, 1858, she heard from Willie:

Received a letter from Willie this morning—says he arrived safely, and has taken boarding at Mrs. Hughes, passed well his examination, and seems in good spirits. He entered the Freshmen class and promises to study hard, and endeavor to be a good scholar, God grant he may be a virtuous, moral, industrious good boy. He has no bad habits and I hope he may never contract any, but that he may prosecute his study with assiduity and perseverance.

In November of the same year, she and her husband took a trip to New York, where they visited with Tommy:

Left home for New York, stayed all night in Baltimore and went on to New York the next morning Wednesday! We had not a very pleasant trip, the weather was unpleasant, had a great fright about Tommy, through mistakes all around, thought he was lost, but he came on Saturday and remained with us until Wednesday, when he

returned to Princeton, we were absent 12 days, we returned home on Saturday 27th, found all well and safe. Tommy got a very nice sack overcoat in New York costing \$20, his expenses at New York going and coming was about \$30.

When Tommy left Princeton the following year, he

commenced studying Law in the office of his Father and Uncle. He began to read Blackstone, and if he will study earnestly and diligently, he may make a good Lawyer. I hope he may not be carried away by the temptations and vices and follies of Youth, but acquire superiority in his profession.

One of the delightful things about both diaries is the way in which both women, the one presumably educated at home, the other perhaps at the Cumberland Academy, unselfconsciously include quotations from the classics in their diaries.¹² There are many more such quotations that I could take down in my notes; however, two examples may be given: when the second supper on behalf of the Academy was unsuccessful due to the prejudicial activity of some busybodies, Mrs. McKaig quoted "Base envy withers at another's joy/ and hates that excellence it cannot reach," which is line 284 from Thomson's *The Seasons*, an eighteenth-century English poem whose popularity continued throughout the early nineteenth century in the United States. Similarly, Mazie Bruce cries "Oh this is a sad sad world and I wish I were well out of it and yet why long to leave the ills we have to flee to others that we know not of?" The latter part of her sentence is of course from Hamlet's "to be or not to be" soliloquy. It is unlikely that even college-educated women today would quote the classics in their diaries; memory skills which were enhanced by "reciting" in school and by the common nineteenth century habit of reading out loud (a practice referred to in both diaries) have been largely lost through watching television and movies and through "discussing" topics in school.

As we all know, the nineteenth century was a pious period in American history. Family prayers were a common custom in the nineteenth century in England and also in America. *Martine's Handbook* recommends that before retiring for the night, house guests ascertain the hours for morning prayers.¹³ Family prayers are not mentioned in the diaries of Mrs. McKaig and Miss Bruce; does this mean they never had them or that they took them for granted? Nevertheless, the diaries are full of religious sentiments. Both women pray a great deal in their diaries—Mrs. McKaig for her sons' moral growth and academic success and also for their safety in the Civil War, Miss Bruce for the soul of her father, who had died a few years before the diary begins. Mrs. McKaig, who was probably a Presbyterian, always records the days she does *not* attend church—days when the weather is too bad or she has a headache—but one presumes she attends on the other Sundays which are not specifically mentioned. Miss Bruce, a "high" Episcopalian, attends divine service twice a day, and often on special Saints' days or holy days, teaches Sunday School, and frequently on Sundays goes "down to the mission," which by its location in South Cumberland, appears to be the chapel which later became Cumberland's second Episcopal Church, the Church of the Holy Cross. She visits her father's grave at least once a month. On All Saints Day, 1887, she records:

All Saints Day a lovely bright day but oh what gloom it has brought us. Went to

church this morning and afterwards took the flowers to the cemetery to my own precious father a Saint in Heaven.

The entries described in this brief paper indicate that both women lived in the characteristic manner of the nineteenth century. They were dependent, protected, and generally submissive. However, in a part of her diary I have not discussed—and which deserves another paper to itself—Mrs. McKaig is ordered to leave her home and go South, because of her Southern sympathies. Her husband was absent in New York. Accompanied only by her youngest son, Merwin, she drove away from her home, which had been commandeered by the Yankees as officers' quarters. She made her way into West Virginia, boarding with different people along the way, dealing with loneliness, anxiety and strange people with considerable poise and prudence, until the order arrived permitting her to return. Unexpected reserves of strength lay under the demeanour of this lady who often complained of sick headaches and who complained when her husband went up to Frostburg overnight: "Oh, I wish he would not go up there to remain all night. I feel so lonely."

Other than her poker playing, the one act of Mazie Bruce's which seems to defy the genteel stereotype was to smoke a cigar on a bet with her Cousin Dick: "So I took him up and got my quarter I think he was disappointed that it did not make me ill." Had she been practicing smoking in her bedroom? But Miss Bruce seems to have been naturally of a somewhat restrained and even melancholy temperament. The last line of her diary reads: "Oh dear me, if only the pleasures of this world were not so fleeting." Life for ladies "down street" in Cumberland, while pleasant, seemed to provoke serious thoughts in those who kept diaries.

REFERENCES

1. I wish to thank the Allegany County Historical Society and especially Miss Rita Knox, director of its museum, History House, for their courtesy in allowing me to use this material.
2. None of these diaries is as yet transcribed, although a grant is being sought for that purpose. The handwritings are sometimes difficult to decipher. I have corrected silently misspellings and punctuation errors which would impede meaning; otherwise, the original spelling and punctuation have been left unaltered.
3. *Little Women* by Louisa May Alcott and other novels of the Civil War period, and the novels of Henry James, William Dean Howells, and Edith Wharton for the Victorian period, remain our best source for the daily activities of upperclass women in the fashionable New England cities. Another helpful source on the daily lives of nineteenth century women in America is Catharine Beecher's *Treatise on Domestic Economy*. In addition, the Allegany County Historical Society fortunately has a book called *Martine's Handbook of Etiquette*, by Arthur Martine, 1866, which describes the manners and mores of daily life of the mid-nineteenth century.
4. Leonore L. Davidoff, *The Best Circles* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), pp. 40-44. *Martine's Handbook of Etiquette* (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, Publishers), pp. 113-126.
5. The phrase "down street" appears to have been a common expression in Cumberland in the nineteenth century.
6. Duncan Crow, *The Victorian Woman* (New York: Stein and Day, 1972), pp. 64-65.
7. Davidoff, 47.
8. Martine, 71.
9. Martine, 64.
10. James Thomson, *The Seasons*, 1. 284.
11. Catharine Beecher Stowe, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, ed. Gerda Lerner (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977), *passim*.
12. Once the diaries are transcribed, the manuscripts can be edited, and the use and sources of all such quotations can be ascertained.
13. Martine, 125.

Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, the "Lady with a Harp"

BESS PATERSON SHIPE

UNLIKE MANY BEAUTIFUL BUT FORGOTTEN LADIES WHOSE PORTRAITS HANG in Washington's National Gallery of Art, Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely remains a person we can know. There she stands beside her harp, as she was painted by Thomas Sully in 1818, a radiant girl of fifteen who lived in Baltimore on Hanover Street.

We can know Eliza in many ways. There are letters and records at the Maryland Historical Society and at Hampton, where a copy of the portrait hangs in the great hall. We can see her through the eyes of those who knew her, including the Marquis de Lafayette, who was charmed by this Baltimore belle on his return visit to the United States in 1824. We can know her through the eyes of her daughter, little Eliza, who kept a diary the year she was thirteen, when her mother was the fourth mistress of Hampton. We can visit her house and walk in her garden and even have a party in the restored orangerie which was one of her favorite places.

Eliza was a Ridgely before she became the second wife of John Ridgely of Hampton. Her father, Nicholas Greenberry Ridgely, was a descendant of Col. Henry Ridgely, from another branch of Ridgelys, and the grandson of Col. Nicholas Greenberry, who arrived in Maryland on the *Constant Friendship*, July 9, 1674, and was prominent in Maryland colonial history. Eliza's father was a prosperous grocery merchant of the firm of McDonald and Ridgely on the southwest corner of Baltimore and Howard Streets, with customers as far away as Louisiana, Tennessee, and Ohio. He was a member of Old St. Paul's Episcopal Church, now at Charles and Saratoga. He was on the Baltimore Dance Committee and one of the group that worked for the construction of the Washington Monument when that far north on Charles Street was country. He was also a popular widower.

Nicholas Ridgely had married Eliza Eichelberger, the oldest daughter of Martin Eichelberger, a revolutionary war hero and, for many years, weighmaster of the Port of Baltimore. His nineteen-year-old wife died three days after the birth of her daughter, Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, in February of 1803. She was buried in the Otterbein church yard.

The wealthy Eichelbergers had a large, closely knit family. The story is told that Mrs. Eichelberger gave birth to her own youngest child near the time that her new granddaughter was left motherless and that she nursed both babies and helped to raise Eliza.¹

Mrs. Shipe, a freelance writer, is the author of *Country School Boy*.

The Baltimore City Directory for the year 1818, the year of the portrait, lists Nicholas Ridgely's dwelling at 25 Hanover Street and the Martin Eichelberger's at 24 Hanover, a happy arrangement. Twenty-five Hanover was between German Street (now Redwood) and Lombard.² The "top of Hanover" has become Hopkins Place.

If you drive south on Sharp Street, below the Convention Center, and turn left on such streets as Barre, Lee, Welcome Alley, or Hill to Hanover, you may still get some feeling of what Eliza's neighborhood was like. Rows of brick homes clustered around the inner basin which was filled with working sailing vessels. The Port of Baltimore was open to the sea that led to the goods, education, and culture of Europe. A few blocks east of Hanover one could catch the briny scent of the harbor, feel the lure of ships arriving and setting sail, and hear the cries of wheeling gulls.

To the north, at the "top of Hanover," there was Baltimore Street, sometimes called Market Street. Here was a colorful, exciting place with all varieties of handsome shops, many displaying swinging signs—huge wooden keys, boots, bells, or anchors. The only transportation was by carriage, or wagon, or on horseback, but most people walked and shopped, or just promenaded.

Eliza's own life paralleled the life of Baltimore and the surrounding countryside in the nineteenth century. She was a child of nine during the War of 1812 and lived close enough to the harbor to have heard the "bombs bursting in air" from the battle at Ft. McHenry.

At the age of thirteen, she was sent to Miss Lyman's Institution in Philadelphia, a boarding school for young ladies. A letter from her father, dated October 17, 1816, though worded in the manner of a nineteenth century gentleman, is typical of many an exasperated father's letter to his child at school or camp:

My dear Eliza,

Finding that you are determined not to begin this correspondence, I am at length compelled to pick up my pen, or I suppose I shall hear no more of you until something else is wanted. . . ."

He scolded her for staying up until three a.m. with her young aunt, Henrietta, and was glad she was determined to try for the music prize. The letter ended, warmly,

You must write me as soon as you can and tell me you how you come on and what everybody in school is doing.

Your affectionate father,
N. Ridgely³

Later, the headmistress reported to Mr. Ridgely that Eliza had "distinguished herself by an application to her studies," that her disposition was "amiable, talented and respectful."

Eliza's interest in music was to last through a lifetime. Her "affectionate father's" receipted bills include those for ninety-six music lessons and many harp strings and repairs.

When Eliza was fifteen, one year only after Baltimore was lighted by gas lights, the famous portrait was done by Sully. Eliza was already a beauty and already

aware of elegance and fashion, as one can tell by the shimmering empire gown and matching slippers she was wearing as she posed.

In 1824, Lafayette returned for a triumphal visit and Baltimore went wild with social excitement. There were balls, dinner parties and parades in honor of the famous Frenchman. Lafayette was entertained at Hampton. He dined with the family in their dining room, sitting at the head of the table. At that time Charles Ridgely, the Governor, was still master of Hampton and his son John was a widower.

Lafayette also dined at the home of Nicholas Ridgely in the city. The story goes that he had met the lovely Eliza at some previous gala and that she played her harp for him at her father's farewell dinner. Lafayette, though sixty-one at the time, was still the gallant Frenchman, and started a correspondence which continued for the next ten years, until his death.

A copy of the beginning of this correspondence can be found in Lafayette's letters to Eliza Ridgely of Hampton from which the following is quoted:

On board the Brandywine

The disappointment I have felt, in being deprived of the gratification to see you once more, dear Miss Ridgely, could not receive a more soothing consolation than from the kind letter with which you have been pleased to bless me. You have inspired me, as early as the first days of our acquaintance, my old age permits me to say so, with sentiments of the highest admiration, affectionate friendship, and I will allow myself to add of tender gratitude. I was anxious to obtain the permission you give me to call you 'my dear young friend.' Let me hear from you and of everything that can interest you. . . . [The letter concluded,] Farewell, and think often of your tenderly devoted old friend.

Lafayette⁴

Four years later, he was to write that he had received "the information that Miss Ridgely has changed, if not her name, at least her situation, and that the happy man has been found to fix her choice." Eliza had married John Ridgely who had inherited Hampton at the death of his father.

When Eliza came to Hampton some of the acreage was gone, but it was still a magnificent plantation, stretching to the north farther than the eye could see, even from the cupola. There were the formal gardens, the iron works that had contributed to the Ridgely wealth (now under the waters of Loch Raven), the successful farm, stables with carriages and fine horses, and the late Georgian mansion that is still enjoyed at Towson as a historic site and was already famous for its hospitality. Seen through the eyes of its new twenty-six-year-old mistress, Hampton must have been Tara at the beginning of *Gone with the Wind*.

Eliza apparently fitted into the picture as easily as into one of the fine kid gloves that she ordered from Paris. She took an active part in running Hampton—the house and especially the garden, and kept meticulous accounts in a fine script.

During the next eight years, she had five children, only two of whom lived to grow up, her son, Charles, and her daughter, Eliza. In 1841 little Eliza kept a diary which was lost and turned up in the possession of the Haussner family of Haussner's Restaurant by some lucky chance. The diary was donated to Hampton

where the original is in safekeeping. Through her daughter's eyes, we can catch a glimpse of the elegant but disciplined way of life that was Eliza's in her thirty-eighth year. Little Eliza wrote from Hampton on Monday, October 18, 1841:

I got up and went to the music room, I looked through books till the prayer bell rang. I went in the dining room and bid mother good morning. After prayers and breakfast I went in the little office beyond where my school books were [now the museum entrance]. . . my trunks were put in the carriage until time to go to Baltimore.⁵

Eliza, little Eliza, one of the aunts, the baby Julia Maria, and the baby's nurse set forth in one of the Ridgely carriages, driven by a liveried coachman.

This was a trip to town to establish little Eliza in her boarding school for the winter months. Her brother, Charles, was already staying in town at Dr. McNally's school.

The first night was a disappointment because, "Father didn't want mother to go out with us on election night." Everyone stayed at home at Grandmother Eichelberger's. The next day was better.

Mother went shopping on Market Street. She brought back a blue and a yellow cap to choose from and tried them on the baby. After dinner, I walked out with mother.

Little Eliza's brother, Charles, came to visit, but the children were disappointed because it rained; and "Cousin Daniel had promised to take us with some others to sail in a rowboat and see his frigate."

Mrs. Ridgely did leave her daughter at school, but not without having a talk with the teacher and coming back the next day to check out little Eliza's "bedstead."

Little Eliza got into some memorable mischief another weekend at the Eichelbergers'. She and two friends went up to the garret, as little girls have done forever, to look in trunks for large hats to try on. They discovered a way to get out on the roof and to get from one roof to another. They stayed there "looking at the beautiful view 'til it was night." One can only speculate that the beautiful view might have been a panorama of housetops to harbor with Uncle Daniel's frigate and perhaps even the *Choissey* at anchor.

The children longed, many a rainy weekend, for the carriage to come and take them back to Hampton. When it did come again, Eliza wrote, "After supper mother was reading this journal and said we must not go to the top of the house any more." The mistress of Hampton was not too busy to know what her children were doing.

Hampton was not too stately a place to permit the children to have fun. The diary tells of little rascals jumping over pillows and seats in the great hall and rolling hoops in the music room. Another time, "we got mother to play for us and Aunt Henny danced with us."

And then there was Christmas, 1841.

We were up early, looked at the stocking and the good things it contains and after breakfast I gave the large servants their presents and then we fixed up the room and a whole troop of little servants came in. After we gave them their presents. . . we went down into the yard to shoot firing crackers. . .

There is a long list of Christmas presents to servants in Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely's careful handwriting in Hampton records.

Apparently, slavery was accepted as a way of life by this lady who was referred to as "my angelic friend" by someone to whom she had been generous. Eliza was also a devout Episcopalian, but John Ridgely was a plantation owner in a border state and the sympathies of the family were with the South. The Ridgelys did, however, pay wages to some skilled black craftsmen before the war.

Eliza was a conscientious mother, expecting from young Eliza and from Charles, even at Harvard, excellence in studies and in personal behavior. Her attitude to her children was much as her father's had been to her. His death, in 1829, must have been one of her sorrows. Other sorrow followed. Three infant bodies were placed in the family cemetery at Hampton, including that of the baby, Julia Maria.

Eliza was also, from all accounts, a devoted companion to her husband and had a sense of keeping things orderly and beautiful, including herself.

Although she did not come across, in the mosaic of images one is able to piece together about her, as a frivolous person, Eliza as mistress of Hampton was able to dazzle, as perhaps a Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis would have. The 1840s and 50s when Eliza was in her own forties and early fifties must have been golden years for her.

There is an account of Eliza in a story told by a member of the Ridgely family to Ann Van Ness Merriam which describes her in the following way on the morning of and during the evening of a great party at Hampton:

The doors of the great hall stood open that morning and a gentle air, fragrant with ripening fields and orchard, drifted into the house. In the dining room, the family with their house guests were assembled for breakfast. The master of Hampton stood behind his lady's chair. Presently she entered, as charming as the late summer morning itself, in a misty blue morning gown. In spite of middle age, the brighteyed responsiveness of girlhood had never left her. She smiled and bowed to those around her, then caught her little grandson Johnnie in her arms who, escaping his nurse, was toddling towards her.

And later that evening:

The grind of carriage wheels and the thud of horses hooves sounded in the great heart-shaped drive. Coachmen and stable boys shouted. Ladies and gentlemen laughed and chatted as they mounted the steps. The guests were arriving for the ball at Hampton. In the great hall the table was laid for fifty. A hundred candles flickered from the chandeliers lighting spotless napery, sparkling silver and crystal, and a delectable aroma of culinary triumphs wafted through the corridors. The master of Hampton stood before the mantle in the drawing room to welcome his guests, Eliza was at his side, queenly in plum colored satin with the Ridgely jewels at her throat and wrists. Her dark eyes sparkled and the color, fresh as any girls', rose in her cheeks.⁶

Despite the quaintness of language in this account from *The Ghosts of Hampton*, the picture of Eliza as her family remembered her is very real.

John and Eliza were also sophisticated travellers in a time when only the rich could make the voyage back and forth to Europe—jetsetters of their day. Eliza

never had a babysitting problem because she had not only the servants but the two aunts who were more like sisters to look after the children.

As time went by, Hampton took on a European patina. Because Eliza was wealthy in her own right, she could bring back special things from France and Italy for the house and garden.

From 1854–1859 improvements were made at Hampton, the first major rehabilitation since 1791, including the installation of gas lights. The cost of modernization came to \$6,122.24, a sizable sum for those days.

You can visit Eliza's house today, Tuesdays through Saturdays from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.; Sundays from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. As you enter the great hall, you get a feeling of ageless elegance, which Eliza helped create and maintain, and which is now innate in Hampton. You will see a copy of the "Lady with a Harp" on the wall and Eliza's music stand near the front door. You will see a huge painting, sometimes called the Romantic Ruins, which Eliza brought back from Italy. There is also a portrait of John Ridgely there and an excellent newly restored portrait of Mrs. Martin Eichelberger, Eliza's grandmother. The same harp that Eliza actually used is in the music room. (The one in the portrait was a prop.) Nicholas Greenberry Ridgely's portrait hangs over the mantel in the drawing room where there is more Italian art.

Docents who lead the guided tours will be able to point out the beautiful chandeliers imported by Eliza and the Turkey carpets upstairs that she ordered from Paris. In the John Needles room upstairs where the toys are, you will see a picture of Eliza as a youthful grandmother with her little grandson, John, and the tan leather boots that she wore.

However, Eliza's great love was the garden. If there was any point of contention between master and mistress in those days, it may have been where money was spent with Eliza always championing those carefully kept acres.

It is possible that the glorious gardens had run down somewhat toward the end of Charles', the Governor's, tenure. If so, Eliza's supervision of expert gardening made them a showplace of America again by the 1840s. The gardens were, of course, influenced as John and Eliza were by the fashions of the European continent, rather than by those of England.

The gardens sloped away from the south side of the house. There were three parterres, Italian style, with masses of colored flowers blooming within designs outlined by boxwood. Looking down, one could imagine a Persian carpet.

Eliza's memorable innovations included a large bed of imported coleus on the upper level, rose plants from Europe, gravel paths, and a great variety of trees. The Norway spruce, which she brought over and had planted along the inner borders of the walkway that leads downward, have grown unbelievably tall, adding to the feeling of antiquity in the garden, despite the roar of the beltway below.

Sometime after 1829 and before June of 1842, the original orangerie was built. This was a greenhouse, a Greek Revival structure somewhat like a small temple, probably influenced by Eliza. Here citrus fruits were raised in winter to be set out in urns in good weather, an exotic rarity in antebellum America. The orangerie later burned, but has since been restored. You will still see forty urns of Italian marble brought by Eliza as you stroll in her garden.

One of the few letters in Eliza's own handwriting in the manuscripts at the Historical Society ends with a postscript any back yard gardener will understand. After issuing a gracious invitation to a friend to dine at Hampton, this glamorous hostess added, "Have you any plants for me?"⁷

By the late 1850s, as John and Eliza grew older, the winds of change that were eventually to destroy the way of life at Hampton were moving with foreboding across the nation. In January of 1861, the Baltimore County Horse Guards were formed under the leadership of Charles Ridgely of Hampton, Eliza's son. The Horse Guards were States Rights advocates, hoping to keep federal troops from coming through Maryland.

Eliza must have been wracked with the anxieties of the times as the Horse Guards, meeting in Towson, were challenged by the pro-Union Towson Guards and tensions mounted. Violence almost exploded between rebel and federal sympathizers in Towson at the outbreak of the Civil War; but by late April of 1861, it was obvious that Maryland would not secede.⁸ The war came close to Towson only twice, but Ridgely friends and relatives went off to fight for the Confederacy.

When the war was finally over, Eliza received a letter from a friend in Savannah that spoke eloquently of the feeling of the South:

Savannah, June 28, 1865

How pleasant it is my very dear Mrs. Ridgely to hear of you again after nearly four years of ignorance of our friends. To feel that God has spared their lives is indeed cause for gratitude. Death has been so near all through our country that it seems almost strange for anybody to be alive. I am very grateful you have not suffered as much as others during this frightful carnage. *All* must feel the war, I know, but I suppose down here we have been more entirely bereft of our property than the people in Maryland. All have felt the loss of servants and to that is added houses and land and worse than all precious lives.⁹

This lady, whose signature is difficult to read, goes on to thank Eliza for sending some clothing, and concludes: "Please write and tell me if Hampton is as lovely as ever and the trees and flowers. . . ."

Apparently, Hampton made the transition in the post war period fairly smoothly. A large percent of ex-slaves stayed on as wage earners, at least for a time.

But the health of John Ridgely, who was thirteen years older than Eliza, began to fail in the years after the war. On August 5, 1867, Eliza received another sad letter, this time from her grandson, Johnnie, at school in Paris:

My dear Grandma,

We got the sad news of the death of Grandpa in the Sun Paper a short time before we received father's letter. I am very sorry to hear it, especially as I should like to have seen him once more before he died. I was glad to hear you were better and hope you'll soon be able to go about again.¹⁰

Young Johnnie was to become the Captain John Ridgely many older Towsonites will remember attending the Episcopal Church on Allegheny Avenue, wearing his derby hat and carrying his cane. (The derby is still in the master bedroom.)

Charles Ridgely became master of Hampton after the death of his father. Charles' wife, Margaretta Howard, the granddaughter of John Eager Howard,

became the fifth mistress. In September of 1867, Eliza's last major improvement was carried out. The North Portico and steps were changed from what is believed to have been Aquia Creek sandstone to white Italian marble, a project that must have been dear to the fourth mistress's heart.

Then on December 20 of 1867, five months after John's death, Eliza, herself, died at Hampton. We find this notice of her passing:

Died at Hampton, Baltimore County, on Friday morning, the 10th instant, Eliza R. Ridgely, relict of the late John Ridgely of Hampton, in the 65th year of her age. Her relatives and friends are invited to attend her funeral on Monday next, at 11 o'clock. Carriages will leave the residence of Mr. James Howard, s.e. corner of St. Paul and Eager Streets, at 9 o'clock.¹¹

But the influence of the "Lady with a Harp" at Hampton did not die. Sully's portrait of Eliza, which hung in the music room, charmed many subsequent guests of subsequent Ridgelys. In 1947, a young man named David Finley, who was the first director of the National Gallery, visited Hampton, discovered the portrait, and prevailed upon Mrs. Maude Monell Vetlesen to purchase it for the gallery. Finley's interest in the portrait triggered his interest in Hampton itself, in the value of the mansion and 45 remaining acres as representative of a memorable period of Maryland history that should be preserved. Finley's enthusiasm was caught by Andrew Mellon's daughter, Ailsa Mellon Bruce. Through her influence, the Avalon Trust purchased the present Hampton and gave it to the government. It is now maintained by the National Park Service.

Today, you may have lunch in the cozy old kitchen or on the terrace in good weather. You may rent the orangerie for a special occasion, such as a wedding reception for 100 or a seated dinner for 60. The traditions of Maryland elegance and hospitality, as epitomized by Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely at Hampton, are not entirely gone-with-the-wind.

If you walk in the garden, feeling perhaps just a touch like Scarlett or Rhett, pause for a moment under the giant Cedar of Lebanon planted in 1845, a prize-winner now, the largest tree of its kind in the state. Eliza brought it from Europe as a seedling, in a shoe box.

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Elections and Voting in Early Colonial Maryland

DAVID W. JORDAN

FEW ASPECTS OF THE FIRST CENTURY OF SETTLEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND HAVE attracted historians' attention as much as the question of elections and the franchise: Who could and did vote? Who was eligible for office and who was elected? These issues have spawned a voluminous literature and at times a quite controversial and acrimonious debate.¹ In dramatic contrast, these subjects have elicited scant interest among the students of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake colonies, where records are less promising for such detailed analyses. There, the subject of elections and voting has rarely appeared in the literature until discussions of the early eighteenth century, after the evolution of the practices which would prevail until the American Revolution.²

The current revival of interest in the early Chesapeake colonies prompts a new look at elections and suffrage there. While contemporary records often remain frustratingly silent or vague about such matters as how representation was determined, who voted and in what manner, and what criteria, official or unofficial, may have existed for political officeholding, a general answer to these questions—and at times a quite precise picture—does emerge from the scattered fragmentary evidence. That picture, drawn here from the Maryland perspective, should provide a sounder foundation for the re-examination in progress of the political and social life of the early southern colonies.

Governors in Maryland convened and dissolved numerous Assemblies before a regular procedure of elections and representation had evolved. Practices changed in accommodation to increases in and diversification of the population, geographical dispersion, the whims and concerns of the Lords Baltimore and the crown, and finally the apathy and demands of the citizenry. Throughout the process of change, Marylanders never forgot they were Englishmen and remained highly conscious of English practices and beliefs.

By the last quarter of the century, colonists were attempting more explicitly to invoke and implement English customs and laws, and they often succeeded. Maryland's Assembly, particularly the Lower House, identified itself directly with Parliament and the House of Commons and sought to pattern questions of eligibility and control of elections on the model of the mother country. These desires and successful efforts culminated between 1692 and 1715, when Maryland was under royal rule. By the time the Calvert family regained the governance of colony, most election practices which would prevail until the American Revolu-

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tion had become the law and the norm. In only a few ways, and they present interesting exceptions, did Maryland's election laws and practices by this time vary from those of England. Such had certainly not been the case through most of the seventeenth century, when both the franchise and officeholding were more widespread and democratic than they were later to become. Moreover, the efforts of political leaders and of the general populace over the decades to change political practices had not usually been toward a more open, equalitarian polity. Indeed, they often narrowed eligibility for the suffrage, made officeholding more the preserve of the elite; in turn, freeholders frequently displayed considerably more apathy than interest toward their role in the political process.

Maryland's first legislature assembled in St. Mary's City in February of 1634/35, but unfortunately no records survive to reveal even the membership of this body. Almost certainly, it like its immediate successor three years later was a non-elected meeting open to all freemen or their proxies. That second Assembly, which met irregularly over a two-month period in 1637/38, consisted of five colonists present under special writs and 56 additional freemen. Other free colonists were represented through proxies, and Lieutenant General Leonard Calvert served as president of the Assembly.³ Among those attending in 1637/38 were three elected representatives, probably the first elected members of the Maryland legislature. Robert Philpott, Thomas Bradnox and Edward Beckler represented the freemen of Kent Island. After subduing the island in 1637, Leonard Calvert had held a court to hear causes of dispute between the residents there. "At the end of the said court," he later reported, "I assembled all the Inhabitants to make choice of their delegates to be present for them at a generall assembly then held at St. Maryes for the makeing of Lawes wch they accordingly did."⁴

Calvert's gesture to include settlers of Kent Island in the Assembly shrewdly sought to gain the allegiance of these people who had heretofore been loyal to William Claiborne and outside the arm of the Maryland government.⁵ While it seemed critical to Calvert to have Kent Islanders participate in the legislature, it was also clearly impractical for all of the freemen to attend in person, or even to expect a significant number of them to do so. The local population undoubtedly welcomed not having to appear personally and not having to travel considerable distances under less than ideal circumstances. Significantly, only five other islanders, besides the three men specifically elected, exercised the option to attend themselves.⁶ Indeed, the number of proxies from freemen of the Western Shore suggests that others likewise regarded the Assembly meeting as not sufficiently critical to give up one's time and to travel in bad weather, especially when the legislature would meet only intermittently and the new capital had few facilities, and those very primitive, to accommodate anyone in attendance. Those who did attend soon perceived it was expedient to delegate a smaller body to consider business in some detail and to make a report to the larger reconvened Assembly. It was cumbersome to have too many people involved with such poor facilities. Some colonists, no doubt, also preferred to have a less-inclusive system where certain men, primarily the leading investors and planters, could more easily determine the course of events and have their wishes prevail without having to

deal simultaneously with the wishes of all freemen assembled together. Numerous circumstances thus worked from the outset against the system of general meetings, which of course was not the way Parliament gathered.⁷

All of these considerations probably attracted authorities to the virtues of an elected system of membership, for the third Assembly, meeting the next year, contained elected delegates from all settled areas. Also, members of the Council and two other leading colonists who had received special writs for attendance were present. The hundred, the main political subdivision already established in Maryland, constituted the basis of representation. The more heavily populated hundreds on the Western Shore—St. Michael's, St. Mary's, and St. George's—each sent two delegates, while the newer Mattapanient Hundred elected only one. Kent Island had apparently been subdivided, for its two delegates were elected respectively by 24 different voters. The new procedure apparently remained optional and very flexible because two men from St. Mary's, Cuthbert Fenwick and Robert Clark, each "claimed a Voice as not assenting to the Election of St. Marys Burgesses," and they likewise received seats.⁸

Upon convening, the membership quickly proceeded to pass "An Act for the Establishing the house of Assembly and the Laws to be made therein." This statute stipulated that the elected members "be called Burgesses and shall supply the places of all the freemen consenting or subscribing to such their election in the same manner and to all the same intents and purposes as the Burgesses of any burrough in England." With the Gentlemen under special writs and "such other Freemen (not having Consented to any the Elections as aforesaid)" the elected members or any 12 of the total number were to comprise the Assembly.⁹

Later in the session, this Assembly declined to enact two bills which had undoubtedly originated with Lord Baltimore and would have placed the legislature on a more permanent legal foundation. One bill called for the Assembly to meet at least once in every three years with members to "have the like power priviledges authority and Jurisdiction in all causes and matters arriseing or to arrise or happen within this province as the house of Commons within the Realm of England."¹⁰ The second proposed law would have spelled out more clearly the composition of the Assembly to include any member of the Council, "any other Gentleman of able judgment and quality Summoned by Writt & (the Lord of every Mannour within this Province after Mannors be erected)" and "some one, two or more able and Sufficient men" elected from each hundred. No longer would individuals have been seated simply because they had not assented to the elections.¹¹

The Assembly gave no specific reason for objecting finally to these bills which one historian has extravagantly labeled the "Magna Carta" of Maryland.¹² The bills were but two of 33 so treated, which had earlier passed two readings and been engrossed. The Assembly was clearly at odds with proprietary desires, and when Governor Calvert dissolved the body, it had passed only two laws, the initial act establishing the Assembly and one ordaining certain laws governing the province. The latter statute, which was to be in effect for three years or until the end of the next Assembly, had also stipulated that the Assembly consist of the Lieutenant General, the Secretary or his deputy, Gentlemen summoned by

special writ and "one or two Burgesses out of every hundred (at the choice of the freemen)." ¹³

This legislation governed the next Assembly, which convened in two sessions in October, 1640 and April, 1641, although the representation per hundred became somewhat less flexible than the act implied. Writs of election, issued in August and September of 1640, had specified no more than four delegates for Kent, and either one or two for the hundreds of St. Mary's County, except that St. Clement's and Conception (Mattapanient) were to elect only one burgess each. These stipulations probably arose from demographic considerations. ¹⁴ By the second session, Kent and St. George's had reduced the size of their delegations for reasons of economy. The second session also included, for the first time, a Lord of a Manor who was not presently a councillor, Thomas Gerard. ¹⁵ By neglect or intent, this Assembly failed to enact legislation governing the following or any subsequent legislature. This was probably an oversight, since the second session was prorogued and not dissolved, and the members probably intended to address this piece of legislation at a subsequent session. ¹⁶

When Leonard Calvert next convened an Assembly, it was again a general meeting of all freemen or their proxies. Initial writs for this meeting had been consistent with the practice of 1640 for elected members, but Calvert rescinded those writs on March 2 when he summoned a general meeting. He perhaps changed his mind upon receipt of correspondence from Cecil Calvert which also included new conditions of plantation, a matter of direct interest to all colonists. ¹⁷ In any event, the Assembly passed in late March of 1641/42 an act which revived provisions of the expired statute of 1638/39 governing the constituting of Assemblies, and the next legislature, which met in the summer of 1642, returned again to elected representation. ¹⁸

Uncertainty prevailed once more, however, when the Assembly that July and August failed again to revive the temporary act of 1641/42 and upon dissolution left no legal basis for the make-up of the next body. When Calvert summoned an urgent meeting in September to "consult and advise of matters much importing the Safety of the Colony," he again called a general meeting. It is significant, however, that only 19 men attended personally, although votes were cast for at least 138. Attendance had declined markedly since the earlier open Assemblies which had attracted 56 freemen in 1637/38, not counting those on special writs, and 53 in 1641/42. Most freemen clearly did not consider it worth the cost that they attend in person; in such circumstances, especially as the colony's population increased and spread over a larger geographical area, the merits of representative government seemed substantially to outweigh those of a more democratic polity. ¹⁹ The next four Assemblies included two elected bodies and probably two general sessions. ²⁰

The political climate of the times, reflected in the change of governments in England and Baltimore's determined efforts to retain control of his colony through enlisting the support of more Protestants, probably accounts for the final commitment of the proprietor and colonists to elected Assemblies by 1650. The new Protestant governor, William Stone, had summoned an elected Assembly in 1649. A few months later, he took a step toward clarification of the Assembly's

composition in his proclamation, dated January 24, 1649/50, for a new legislature to convene April 2, 1650. "Whereas the manner of Summoning Assemblies within this Province is wholly left to the Lord Prop^rs discretion," he began, for the next Assembly freemen could either send proxies, with no man holding more than two, or they could elect burgesses from each hundred, with some minor stipulations as to the number of representatives. The governor's only proviso was that residents of a given hundred must proceed one way or the other. The governor's major concern appears to have been greater certainty of attendance and a system reflective of the wishes of the freemen. The latter expressed themselves quite clearly in opting universally for the elective system and a smaller and probably less expensive legislative body. All of the hundreds but three chose to be represented by two burgesses.²¹ This Assembly also constituted itself by law as a two-house legislature.²²

While the specific nature of the Assembly would remain at the proprietor's discretion for many years, the Assembly of 1650 became the operating model in normal times and the practice of electing delegates to a Lower House was the expected procedure. This Assembly did not attempt to stipulate precisely the mode of future legislatures, but it did pass an "Act against raising money without consent of the Assembly;" the statute required a public voice through the "freemen of this Province their Deputyes or the Major Parte of them" in Assembly before taxation was legal.²³ No proprietary governor opposed elected representation for a Lower House thereafter, although disputes often arose about the manner of elections or the number of representatives. The bicameral system prevailed until the end of the colonial era with only three exceptions. While Maryland was under control of the Parliamentary Commissioners from 1654 to 1658, the Assembly twice met in one house only, as did the revolutionary Associators' Convention of 1689-1692 which appealed to William and Mary to make Maryland a royal colony. Otherwise, from 1650 to 1776 an appointed Upper House served concurrently with the elected Lower House. Members of the proprietary Council, and between 1692 and 1715 the royal Council, constituted the Upper House with other gentlemen, usually manor lords, occasionally joining the body by special writ.²⁴

After 1650, individuals sat in the Lower House only by election, although the basis of the electoral district changed over time, as did the number of representatives and the criteria for holding office and for voting. Determination of these matters resided ultimately in the proprietor until the revolution in 1689, and thereafter in the Assembly.

Initially, the hundred, corresponding to the parish in the Anglican colonies of Virginia and Barbados and the township in Massachusetts, constituted the basic electoral district.²⁵ However, as population increased in the Chesapeake colonies the county soon became the standard political unit. The Virginia legislature created eight shires or counties in 1634, and the county first emerged as a political unit in Maryland between 1640 and 1643 for the easier governance of Kent Island, and by 1644 for governing St. Mary's. With the migration of settlers northward on the Western Shore, the hundred of Providence became the county of Anne Arundel by act of Assembly in 1650, and in 1654, the Assembly created the county

of Patuxent, later called Calvert. By 1689, six additional counties existed and Prince George's appeared in 1695 and Queen Anne's in 1707.²⁶

Transition from the parish and hundred to the county as the basic representative district occurred gradually. In Virginia parish and county co-existed as districts from 1634 to 1662, with the county assuming more and more predominance until an act of Assembly in 1661/62 finally eliminated the parish as a representative unit.²⁷ The change evolved less clearly in Maryland. Records of the Puritan Assemblies of 1654 and 1657 do not list members by representative units, nor does the journal of the proprietary Assembly of 1658. However, writs for the election of delegates to the 1658 body directed the sheriff of each county to "summon the ffreemen of yo^r County to come to the usual *places* of meeting," which suggests that elections were still being held in and for the separate hundreds, and the returned indentures for St. Mary's County, though not those for Anne Arundel and Calvert, specifically identify the delegates by the hundreds which elected them.²⁸

Thereafter, the clerk of the Assembly recorded the names of members by county, according to the indentures returned by the sheriffs and without any reference to subdivisions. The number of delegates varied from one to seven during the 1650s, continuing to reflect, no doubt, the earlier electoral options available to hundreds, varying population differentials, and perhaps incomplete membership lists. Elections probably continued to be held in most counties by hundreds to maintain equitable representation by subdistricts. For example, in making the returns for Anne Arundel County in 1669 the sheriff noted the election of "Burgesses or Delegates to Represent their Several Bodys," which clearly implied a continuing subdivision.²⁹ Otherwise, no records speak directly to this point.

Certainly by 1671, sheriffs were definitely conducting all elections for a given county in one place, although each delegate was elected separately and some ticketing or districting appears common. Voters may have persisted, from county to county in some unofficial procedure or understanding which ensured representation for the various sections of each county, perhaps by hundreds or groups of hundreds before 1692, and by parish or some other variation thereafter. Some degree of geographical distribution apparently prevailed in the appointment of justices of the peace, and in several counties later in the century some geographical formula appears to have been a factor in determining burgesses. However, at other times, as in Prince George's county in 1708, all of the representatives came from the same section of the county. Attempts to locate delegates precisely in various hundreds or parishes has proven inconclusive in settling the questions of possible representative subdivisions.³⁰

An exception to representation by county occurred in 1671 when Governor Charles Calvert extended to St. Mary's City the right to send two burgesses to the Assembly. This practice continued until 1708, when St. Mary's ceased to exist as a borough, but in that year Annapolis acquired similar representation.³¹ The number of delegates per county became more standardized at four for the older areas of settlement by 1666, while newer counties, less able to bear the financial burden and less populated, often had only two delegates.³²

Proprietary ordinances dictated how elections should be timed and conducted, and these procedures became quite standardized by the early 1670s. The governor would issue to sheriffs, or to town officers, the writs for a new election. The sheriff in turn summoned four or more county justices with the clerk to sit as a court where he would issue to all eligible voters a proclamation of the election to be held at the next county court. On the specified date, the court would convene, the election would be conducted, and the sheriff would prepare indentures for each elected delegate with the date and place of the election. Signed by voters and the sheriff, a set of indentures would be forwarded to the governor and chancellor.³³

The timing of these elections remained indefinite during the proprietary period, but an act in 1692 stipulated that the election was to be set "at a certain day within a reasonable time after such proclamation." Later complaints indicated that men might legitimately disagree on the definition of "reasonable time," and frequent protests arose over insufficient notice. Many came to agree that in reported cases of three days to a week's notice, as in Calvert in 1696, it was "Morally impossible that the whole Country should have notice of the Election in so short a time."³⁴ Legislation in 1708 required more precisely that writs were to issue at least 40 days before the scheduled convening of the Assembly, as was the practice with Parliamentary elections, and that the election court could not occur in less than ten days after the county proclamation. This act also elaborated in much greater detail the duties of sheriffs in giving notice to freeholders, for charges had likewise mounted of sheriffs' deliberate acts of commission and omission to affect the outcome of elections.³⁵

A slightly different procedure attended by-elections. The Lower House had particularly complained in the late 1670s and 1680s about the governor's or proprietor's slowness to issue writs to fill vacancies. The delegates voted "nemine contradicente" in August of 1681 for the speaker to issue warrants to fill such vacancies, "according to Diverse and Manifold Presidents of the Lower House of Parliament in England," and the delegates asked Calvert to appoint someone, like the clerk of the crown in England, to whom the speaker could direct his warrants.³⁶ Calvert both opposed this infringement on his prerogative and thought the present number of legislators, despite vacancies, was sufficient; nonetheless, he finally promised to issue writs himself if the Lower House would acknowledge in its journal that the act was a favor. The delegates sought a compromise whereby if future vacancies occurred before the Assembly convened, the proprietor or his deputy would issue writs, but if during a session, that the speaker would do so. Calvert would not concede and argued the analogy to the House of Commons was inappropriate. Moreover, he added, this was not a right practiced "in Virginia, Barbados or any other of his Majesty's plantations." He haughtily told the delegates to "Amuse not themselves with things they understand perhaps as little as we and Serve only to foreslow Business and Ruine the Publick."³⁷

Tempers flared again two years later when proprietary officers would not recognize a warrant for a writ which issued from the speaker rather than the governor.³⁸ That dispute did not become resolved until the royal period. Governor Francis Nicholson inquired in August of 1695 about local procedures regarding vacancies, particularly whether a warrant should issue by his orders then or if he should wait until the Assembly met and the warrant ensue from the speaker. The

Council indicated the latter was the local practice. Consequently, the first order of business for the Assembly when it met in October was the speaker's sending of a warrant to the provincial secretary to issue a writ to fill a vacancy.³⁹ Even when it meant a delay in having full representation, the delegates were unwilling to reinvest in any governor the power to proceed in filling vacancies. The new practice was not acknowledged in law, however, until 1718.⁴⁰

Because notices to have by-elections after 1692 were usually issued during the first days of an Assembly session, the election process was customarily speeded up if there was any possibility of the elected delegate's serving in that session. The ten-day delay did not apparently pertain to by-elections even after 1708, for a new delegate from a nearby county or from Annapolis might be seated within five to fifteen days of the speaker's issuance of the warrant.⁴¹

Participation by freemen in the elective process, both as voters and candidates, was strikingly widespread during the initial decades of the Assembly's existence. All freemen were eligible and technically required to attend the general session of the legislature, although personal attendance fell far short of a majority. More significant was the fact that all freemen could vote or serve in the elected bodies. In comparison with contemporary English practices, this political policy in Maryland was most liberal. Property ownership had long been required for the franchise in England, with possession of a 40 shilling freehold necessary for the right to vote in county elections since 1429; by the early seventeenth century, this effectively disfranchised the vast majority—perhaps as many as 85 percent—of the adult males. Englishmen increasingly raised their voices for a broader suffrage, particularly as a means to counter electoral corruption, but despite some broadening in borough elections, no significant increase in the size of the electorate would occur, except through inflation of land values, until after the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁴²

Lord Baltimore no doubt appreciated the necessity of involving as many colonists as possible in the political procedure to ensure a greater sense of common identity and a greater likelihood of obedience to laws. Also, in the early years the dramatic distinction between freemen and servants probably overshadowed any sense of difference between free propertyholders and those freemen not yet owning land. In contrast to Massachusetts, where immigrants wasted little time in restricting the suffrage and the right to hold office in that colony to church members, in religiously-diverse Maryland no such provision was instituted.⁴³

Meanwhile, both the literate and illiterate, both gentlemen and recent servants, and both Catholics and Protestants voted side by side and sat together in the Assembly.⁴⁴ Restrictions or exclusions are most notable for their rareness, but when they occurred they were consistent with English traditions. For example, the Assembly of 1637/38 excused three Jesuit priests from personal participation; by canon and civil law, they could not participate in the trying of cases of blood, and that Assembly served as a court to try Thomas Smith, a pirate.⁴⁵ A decade later, Cuthbert Fenwick successfully challenged the attendance of Nicholas Gwither who still owed service on an indenture and was thus not a freeman.⁴⁶ Thomas Weston had learned in 1642, however, how liberally the colony could interpret the term freeman. Despite his confession that he was "no freeman

because he had no land nor certain dwelling here &ca," the Assembly had determined by vote that he did qualify to sit.⁴⁷ Such liberality did not extend, however, to a propertyholder who was a freewoman, as the formidable Margaret Brent learned when Governor Thomas Greene rebuffed her effort to attend the Assembly of 1647/48.⁴⁸

Maryland's attempt to chart a new course of toleration and open political participation did not survive the challenges posed increasingly after mid-century by heightened religious prejudice and growing differentiations of wealth. The pressures of religious bias intruded first. The proprietor's efforts to forestall criticism from Puritans in the Old and New World proved insufficient to resist the drift of events in England and to prevent the seizure of Maryland's government by Parliamentary Commissioners Richard Bennett and William Claiborne. The new authorities quickly pursued their objectives of making the colony a Puritan Commonwealth. Their call for election of a new Assembly in 1654 restricted participation in the political process to those freemen who were not Roman Catholics and who had not "born Arms in War against the Parliament."⁴⁹ Burgesses had to establish their loyalty beyond question; so pressured, Protestants Thomas Hatton and Job Chandler, originally elected to represent "St. Mary's and Potomoke," declined to proceed any further in rejecting their earlier allegiance to Lord Baltimore as his councillors. They subsequently had to surrender their seats.⁵⁰ The Assembly repealed the celebrated Act Concerning Religion of 1649, which had bestowed toleration on all Christians, and delegates explicitly limited the political and civil rights of those colonists who professed "popery or prelacy."⁵¹

The return of proprietary rule in 1657/58 reinstated a policy of toleration for Catholics and pardoned those who had supported the Commonwealth government. No one was to be denied the vote or the right to be elected "by Reason of any Act or Passage made or don in relation to the late Alteration of the Government."⁵² The proprietor and his deputies were less forgiving two years later when some colonists, including Governor Josias Fendall and Councillor Thomas Gerard, mounted another rebellion, which was briefly successful. Lord Baltimore's Council this time ordered that the convicted Fendall and Gerard be permanently barred from voting or from holding office, and they rendered a handful of other conspirators, who had been assemblymen, ineligible to vote or to hold office for seven years. Writs for the election of burgesses to the next Assembly in 1661 stipulated that freemen could elect "any persons quallified for the Employment that was not disabled by Cryme." The new Assembly was much disturbed over this unilateral action in disfranchising former burgesses and in barring them from holding office; the move threatened in the present delegates' minds their own freedom of speech. Perhaps they were familiar with Charles II's promise of 1660 of a "free and general pardon" to all his subjects upon his restoration, except those who might be named by Parliament. In Maryland, however, the restored proprietary circle had acted without the voice of the Assembly. The delegates now sought an act to guarantee their own freedom of speech, but Governor Philip Calvert assured them "there was noe necessity of making such an Acte as was desired and that they should have as much liberty

as any Burgesses had or haue in the Parliament of England or Magna Carta did afford them in England."⁵³

Ironically, it was in the name of Parliamentary example and English law, usually the means of obtaining more liberties and rights in this proprietary colony, that many of Maryland's remarkably liberal election practices soon disappeared. For differing reasons, both the proprietor in some instances and colonists in others at various times sought to render Maryland's procedures and rules more compatible with the English model. These changes occurred in an atmosphere of increasing suspicion of the Calverts by many settlers, uneasiness about the electorate on the part of provincial authorities, and a heightening animosity toward Catholics and other dissenters, especially among the most recent immigrants from England. The consequence of these changes was a diminished number of men eligible to vote and to hold office.

Numerous colonists suspected, and not without reason, that the Calverts were manipulating the electoral process and were using patronage to further their own ends, particularly to favor a narrowing clique of Catholics and fellow relatives. Appointments to the Council, shrievalty and other lucrative positions went increasingly to such men, and if Protestants were so favored, it was usually as a reward for staunch proprietary support in the Assembly.⁵⁴ Such favoritism became quite alarming in 1671 when Governor Charles Calvert issued a new charter for St. Mary's City which granted its officers and citizens the right to elect two representatives to the Lower House. The action blatantly sought to ensure the election of Thomas Notley and John Morecroft, dedicated supporters of Lord Baltimore, who had not been returned by voters of the county at large in the election held earlier that year.⁵⁵

Calvert's concern to obtain a more pliable, cooperative Lower House undoubtedly also explains other concurrent actions. Beginning with the Assembly of 1671-1674/75, the legislature met in repeated sessions rather than having annual or biennial elections as before. This afforded the governor greater opportunity to draw a burgess into his circle, and once there to enjoy the fruits of that alliance before having to start the whole process anew.⁵⁶ Calvert's inconsistent timing on the issuing of writs for by-elections suggests a greater desire to fill promptly a vacancy where he suspected the new member would be a proprietary supporter.⁵⁷ Fear of such manipulation, with the governor having the sole control of the timing of elections and the summoning of delegates, gained further momentum in 1676 when Calvert summoned only two of the four elected delegates per county to convene for the first session of the newly elected Assembly. This move denied the voters their full elected voice in the Assembly and aroused suspicions regarding who had been summoned and who had not.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, Charles Calvert had also altered the electoral base. In 1670, probably reflecting similar concerns that were motivating the governments of Massachusetts and Virginia,⁵⁹ Calvert, without conferring with the Assembly, limited the suffrage and the right to hold office to those freemen within each county with "Visible seated Plantations of fifty acres of Land at the Least or Visible personall Estates to the value of forty pounds Sterling at the least." Subsequent writs issued for by-elections and again for the election of a new

Assembly in 1675/76 incorporated these same specified property requirements, which borrowed more directly from the English precedent than from the current Virginia practice which limited the vote to landowners and housekeepers, but without a stipulated size or value of the land or household.⁶⁰

Calvert left no surviving record which might explain his reasons for the new restrictions, but a defense by the Council in 1676 suggests his probable motivation. The society had become more diverse in its degrees of wealth and poverty, with a growing body of landless freedmen, less successful after mid-century than their predecessors in moving from servant to freeholder. Wealth differentiation among freemen now made Maryland resemble the mother country more clearly than it had previously, and this recognition apparently prompted Calvert logically to adopt English suffrage provisions. He was also likely alarmed by the potential political power held through the vote by poorer colonists, almost exclusively Protestant, who chafed at Catholic control, and who might affect lawmaking "to the prejudice of the freeholder."⁶¹ The restriction in Virginia came by act of legislature not by executive order, and the burgesses there recorded more clearly their concerns in observing that men recently freed from servitude "having little interest in the country doe oftener make tumults at the election to the disturbance of his majesties peace, then by their discretions in their votes provide for the conservasion thereof."⁶²

Marylanders responded more heatedly to Charles Calvert's manipulation of writs of election and of summons for attendance at the Assembly than to his restriction of the franchise. These became matters of much discussion in the Assembly and points of explicit protest in the "Complaint from Heaven with a Huy and crye" which emanated from a disgruntled colonist in 1676. The protest spoke at length of Calvert's growing displays of favoritism, and of his summoning only two of the four elected delegates per county; it generally disparaged the Assembly, and also briefly called for "free men to choose their delegates."⁶³ The Assembly further raised this question; a committee of elections and privileges emerged in the second session in 1678 and inquired "whether [it was] ag^t the Privileges of this howse that any freeman Inhabitant how soever qualified as to his outward estate should be denied [his vote] for the Choice of Deligates."⁶⁴

Such questions quickly gave way, however, to stronger protests over the proprietor's more basic control of the election process. The delegates, all propertyholders of note, seemed willing to accept suffrage restriction if they could place other election issues more under their control. The delegates passed a bill which asserted that the "Safest and best rule for this Province to follow in Electing such Delegates and representatives is the presedents of the Proceedings in Parliament in England as neere as the Constitution of this Province will admit." Property qualifications existed in England, and the proposed statute incorporated the same provisions which Calvert had recently introduced. It went further to exclude sheriffs and ordinarykeepers from eligibility to serve as burgesses and to deny any proprietary right to summon elected delegates as he might choose.⁶⁵

The Lower House undoubtedly succeeded in gaining the Upper House's assent to this legislation because the proprietor was currently out of the colony. On June 27, 1681, however, Calvert vetoed the act and resolutely disclaimed any Assembly

authority to enact statutes in this domain. Almost three months later, he issued an Ordinance Touching Assemblies, which restated his proprietary powers regarding the legislature and established a new policy to be effective after the dissolution of the present Assembly. Henceforth, each county would elect only two delegates, with the right to vote or to hold office going only to those freemen in each county with a 50-acre freehold or a visible personal estate worth £ 40 sterling. Baltimore heeded the Assembly's concern about sheriffs and excluded them from sitting in the Lower House. Sheriffs, of course, were ineligible for election to the House of Commons, and this victory in Maryland brought the colonial assembly a step closer towards its membership's resembling the Parliamentary pattern.⁶⁶

Disputes arose regularly between Lord Baltimore and the Lower House in the 1680s over the control of elections, with the burgesses continuing to seek a law rather than a proprietary ordinance governing these matters. Such efforts failed to get through the Upper House.⁶⁷ The revolution in 1689, however, provided the opportunity for success. After overthrowing the proprietary government, the Protestant Associators pointedly issued a call for counties to elect four, not two, delegates, and subsequent statements of justifications for the revolution included complaints about the assembly's reduced representation and the selective summoning of delegates in 1676. Interestingly, no explicit complaint emerged about the property qualifications for voting.⁶⁸

The first Assembly elected under the new royal government in 1692 speedily passed "An Act directing the manner of Electing and Summoning Delegates and Representatives to Serve in succeeding Assemblies," and at long last the legislature acquired control over the electoral process. The act retained the property qualification in effect for the past two decades and restored representation to four delegates per county and two for St. Mary's City. The law included the passage from the vetoed-act of 1678 regarding the value of the Parliamentary example and also incorporated basically the same procedures for elections employed under the proprietor, but it did eliminate the special writ of summons previously required before elected burgesses could attend the Assembly. Sheriffs remained ineligible for election and ordinarykeepers also became ineligible. In 1694, the Assembly passed another law intended for the "Advancement of the Natives of this Province" which established a three-year residency requirement in the colony before an immigrant could occupy any office of trust or profit, including a seat in the Lower House.⁶⁹

These two permanent laws continued in effect until 1704, when the Assembly re-enacted substantially the same provisions in a general revision of the colony's laws.⁷⁰ Four years later, the Assembly altered the law to define in greater detail the procedures for elections, especially their timing, and to add to those already ineligible for office "any other Person disabled by any Law of England from sitting in Parliament." This addition aimed further at excluding Catholics from office.⁷¹

The revolution in 1689 and the practices of the royal government after 1692 had already effectively removed Papists from government positions through the stipulation that officeholders subscribe to those oaths required by act of Parliament, the oaths of allegiance and abhorrence and the test oath. No conscientious

Catholic could swear to the test oath, but there was a further consequence in the exclusion of Quakers as well. Lord Baltimore had earlier waived the oath requirement for Friends, but in 1692, the Maryland Council ruled that the English law allowed no exceptions and that a dispensation to the Quakers would be "wholly Repugnant to the very Express words of his Excellencys Commission."⁷² No Catholics had been elected to the first royal Assembly, but four Quakers had been returned; the Lower House had dismissed them as ineligible, as it similarly responded in 1694 when voters in two counties again tried to elect Quakers.⁷³

Queen Anne's instructions in 1704 to John Seymour, the new governor of Maryland, had asked that a law be enacted explicitly to require all officeholders to take the stipulated oaths. The Assembly had complied with a separate statute in May of 1704.⁷⁴ At that same Assembly, the first session under Seymour, two burgesses who had been sitting for four previous sessions declined to subscribe to the oath for better securing the succession of the crown. Henry Lowe apparently found the content objectionable, although he had sworn his allegiance to King William in 1701; Elisha Hall had taken oaths in 1697/98 and 1701, but now declined for reasons of conscience.⁷⁵ Seymour suspected that more Catholics and Quakers, but especially Catholics, were dissembling. Interpreting quite literally his instructions from the crown to exclude Catholics from the toleration which should be extended to other dissenters, Seymour cracked down severely on the activities of Catholic laity and clergy, whom he came to regard as the particular cause of many of his political problems.⁷⁶

The phrase added to the election law in 1708 eventually meant more than just the disabling of Catholics, although they were the intended target. English laws also rendered naturalized citizens ineligible for election to Parliament. Marylanders seemed unaware in 1708 that their actions might have the practical effect of disabling naturalized citizens of the colony, one of whom was a member of that very Assembly. This impact of the law was not perceived until the celebrated battles in the 1770s over the seating of Jonathan Hagar.⁷⁷

By 1708, the Lower House had accumulated many grievances against Governor Seymour and regarded him as suspiciously as earlier delegates had similarly questioned Charles Calvert's manipulations of the legislature during the 1670s. The burgesses correspondingly protested loudly when Seymour issued a charter to Annapolis in 1708 which conveyed Assembly representation to the town and stipulated who could vote in such elections; it was an act too similar to the St. Mary's City precedent, especially when those eligible to vote in Annapolis quickly elected two stalwart supporters of the governor. English precedent, however, now favored the Assembly's side. Since Calvert had by-passed the legislature to grant borough representation to St. Mary's City, the House of Commons had successfully challenged the crown's similar practices in England of granting borough seats in Parliament and determining the suffrage. After 1677, no ruler attempted to achieve such ends through a charter, but instead proceeded solely through the legislature.⁷⁸ The English situation doubtless fortified the protesting Maryland burgesses in 1708.

After the capital was moved from St. Mary's City to Annapolis in 1696, suggestions had often surfaced for the latter to achieve representation in the Assembly; its case was certainly stronger than the one for St. Mary's City, which

had become a classic rotten borough, indeed so depopulated that no one remained there to conduct an election in 1708 when its representation ceased.⁷⁹ Seymour erred tactically, however, in acting unilaterally. The Assembly was jealous of its prerogative to establish counties, and thereby to add seats to the Assembly, and delegates believed that borough representation should be treated no differently. When the Assembly convened in September of 1708, members objected that the governor had no power to grant the charter in the manner and form he had done; delegates also protested the charter's provisions which had deprived some Annapolitans of the right to vote. Denying seats to the disputed burgesses for the time being, the Lower House promised cooperation if "all the Inhabitants and freeholders of Annapolis request the same and have their equal Privileges in choosing their Representatives." In anger, Seymour dissolved this legislature.⁸⁰

A new Assembly in November pursued the point further and finally asserted legislative supremacy over gubernatorial prerogative in such matters; the burgesses passed an "Act Confirming and Explaining the Charter to the City of Annapolis." This legislation effectively concluded the Assembly's efforts to assert full control over all elections. Representation could henceforth be bestowed only by act of Assembly, not by executive measures.⁸¹

In 1715, the last royal Assembly before the colony returned to proprietary control once again revised the law governing elections and formally introduced a residency requirement, which interestingly moved in contrast to English practice. Candidates now had to reside within the county which they wished to represent.⁸² Such a legal stipulation had first appeared with respect to representation for Annapolis in 1708. Previous to 1715, a man clearly could qualify to vote in more than one county and presumably, with the exception of Annapolis, one could represent a district other than that in which he primarily resided.⁸³ Prior to 1715, at least 28 legislators represented more than one constituency during their legislative careers. However, the vast majority, and perhaps all of them, had moved their residency, found themselves in different counties through the alteration of boundaries, or sat from either St. Mary's City or Annapolis, as well as the counties where these towns were located.⁸⁴ Precedent seems clearly to have opposed an assemblyman's sitting for a county in which he did not have a primary residence. For example, in 1674/75, upon the creation of Cecil County from the older Baltimore County, the governor had issued writs for new elections in both counties. John Vanheck, who had been serving from Baltimore, was now elected in Cecil, and Baltimore returned its own new delegates. After a slight confusion in 1696, when Prince George's County was established, William Hutchinson ceased to represent Calvert, where he had originally been elected, and sat for Prince George's, where his home plantation was now located.⁸⁵

Still, there was clearly no hard and fast rule to prevent a man's sitting from another county. Samuel Wallis, a resident of Cecil County, stood successfully for election from Kent in 1708; his eligibility was subsequently challenged, and his election overturned, when he could not prove possession of sufficient property in the county, but there was no questioning of his right to be elected had he possessed at least 50 acres or personal wealth of £ 40 in Kent. A decade earlier, William Harris, a justice of Cecil, stood unsuccessfully for election from Kent in February, 1697/98, and then won election a few days later in his home county of

Cecil. He possessed over 50 acres in both counties. It was the will of the electorate, not a residency requirement, which had thwarted his wish to represent Kent.⁸⁶ Why the Assembly moved as it did in 1715 to require residency in one's constituency remains uncertain.

In 1716, at the first Assembly after the resumption of proprietary rule, the Lower House reconfirmed its gains of the royal period in a statute which summarized the changes effected in recent years. Election procedures and practices had assumed the legal expression they would retain generally for the remainder of the century, with a few significant exceptions. In 1718, the Assembly passed "A Supplementary Act to the Act directing the Manner of Electing and Summoning Delegates and Representatives to Serve in succeeding Assemblies." This act had two important features. First, it gave legislative sanction to the practice which had prevailed unofficially since the 1690s whereby the speaker of the Lower House issued warrants for new elections to fill any vacancies, in accord with English practice, and the act dispensed with the usual stipulation of time for such by-elections. Secondly, as a departure from previous practice which was more significant in its impact, the statute also effectively excluded Catholics from the franchise "unless they first qualify themselves for so doing, by taking the several oaths. . . ."⁸⁷

Opposition to any participation of Catholics in the political process had persisted even after their removal from all offices following the successful revolution of the Protestant Associators in 1689. Throughout the 1690s, complaints had surfaced of the influence which Catholics still wielded through their votes. One disgruntled colonist in 1698 had asserted that Papists "Choose all such Persons as are disaffected to the King and Government," and that Catholics' votes were often decisive at the polls.⁸⁸ Governor Francis Nicholson, who battled to ensure the establishment of the Church of England and other measures often unpopular with much of the electorate, also observed that "other enemyes also to our church and state are most of the rude and dissolute people of the Province who are managed by the Papists."⁸⁹

The campaign against the Catholics had accelerated greatly under Governor John Seymour, during whose tenure the number of Catholics in the province had actually increased noticeably because of an influx of immigrant servants from Ireland. The Lower House, in introducing the bill in 1718, noted that growth and the continued, active politicking of Catholics, which many Protestants viewed fearfully especially in light of the restored proprietorship. The delegates argued that denial of the vote to Catholics would make the colony's practices more consonant with those of the mother country. Governor John Hart further noted that it was "highly unreasonable that the Papists and their Adherents who whenever it is in their Power show such a notable disaffection to our Laws should be permitted to vote for election of the members of the Lower House who Compose so essential a part of the Legislature." The law stipulated that the sheriff could tender the oath as often as he wished to any individual suspected of disguising his Papist beliefs.⁹⁰

Catholics would not play a direct role in Maryland politics again until the American Revolution. The law of 1718 expressly stated that Quakers were still eligible to vote and were not to be affected by this oath requirement, but of course

devout Friends, like Catholics, could not hold office. Occasionally, one finds a former adherent or the son of an adherent converting from Quakerism or Catholicism, swearing the requisite oaths, and holding office, but for the most part politics in Maryland became the domain of those colonists who had won the political and religious struggles of the 1690s in behalf of the Church of England and had then legislated less tolerant policies.⁹¹

The final significant change came four years later and built upon the earlier exclusion of sheriffs from sitting in the Assembly. Proprietary patronage had remained an important means of persuading burgesses to support unpopular bills. In addressing a disputed election directed to the Committee of Elections and Privileges in 1722, the Lower House ruled that "for the future any person Chosen to Serve as a member Delegate or Burgess that shall after such his Election accept of any office or Pension from or under the Government shali (According to the practice of the British Parliament) be incapable to sit or serve as a Member in this House by Virtue of such Election." The House of Commons had fought a vigorous battle in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to obtain an effective act against placemen, but these efforts had actually been much less successful than their Maryland imitators realized. In the struggle to limit executive influence over assemblymen, the Maryland Lower House in this instance exceeded the House of Commons in controlling its own membership.⁹²

Such were the laws and ordinances governing elections in early Maryland. What did they mean, however, when put into practice? How were the elections actually conducted, and with what participation? Who did sit in the provincial Assembly?

Elections were apparently very informal and casual in the initial decades of representative government in Maryland. The population was relatively small in each district, and most men knew each other by sight or reputation. Consequently, the election held on September 24, 1640 in St. Clement's Hundred, for example, was a brief, simple procedure, as seven men, "Being but a small company in number," quickly elected Robert Vaughan to serve in the upcoming Assembly. Not insignificantly, the absent manor lord Thomas Gerard had but recently appointed Vaughan as his local deputy. It was unlikely that any election in St. Clement's Hundred would ignore the wishes of the wealthiest and most powerful resident.⁹³

With the growth of population, the considerable enlargement of constituencies because of the shift to the county as the basic representative unit, and the increasing economic and religious diversification of the population, elections undoubtedly assumed a different character. Voters became far less likely to know each other, especially with the high mortality rate, the rapid influx of new settlers, and the greater geographical dispersion; voters certainly were no longer personally familiar with the full range of possible candidates. Moreover, no one man, like Gerard, was any longer likely to be able to impose his wishes. Sheer numbers, the profusion of unfamiliar figures, the diversity of interests, and the size of the county all necessitated a less casual process.

Consequently, by the 1670s election procedures had become more regularized and elections themselves attracted more interest and participation. Voters evi-

denced disagreement over issues and appear to have attached more importance to who represented them in the Lower House. Constituents sent their representatives to the capital with petitions and grievances which they wanted addressed. Competition for seats became more apparent, which led to disagreements; in turn, a succession of new rules and provisions governed the election itself and served to keep sheriffs more honest, and probably often confused. The election was also becoming more of a festive occasion for county residents who rarely gathered together in any one place and who must have looked forward with anticipation for a break in their normal routines. Court days generally attracted large numbers of colonists for a variety of legal and commercial transactions and naturally for some visiting, hospitality and good times. An even more festive air seemed to prevail at those courts which also included elections.

More extensive accounts describing election days survive for the colony of Virginia and especially for the eighteenth century, but glimpses within the Maryland records would appear to corroborate the picture which Charles Sydnor has so engagingly illustrated of elections in the Old Dominion.⁹⁴ Certainly, alcohol was abundantly a part of the election process in both colonies, as well as in England. One observer of an election in St. Mary's City in 1698 later testified that a certain person might not have noticed a particular event "By reason he was much concerned that time in drink being the day the City Burgesses were Chosen." Another disgruntled colonist had complained in 1689 about a candidate's getting men "in drink."⁹⁵ Nonetheless, the Maryland legislature never resorted to passing a law, as did its counterpart in Virginia in an effort to restrict treats and to try, albeit ineffectually, to combat the drinking problem.⁹⁶

By the 1690s, if not before, differences were already sufficiently pronounced that with or without any additional stimulus of alcohol, tempers could quickly flare out of control. For example, in Talbot County, a discontented party came into the election court "with a great Multitude in a Riotous & Tumultuous manner" and made "Menacing Speeches to the Justices and Sheriff." Similarly, at a Prince George's election March 24, 1714/15, during the taking of a poll, William Taneyhill used his horsewhip against the Reverend Jacob Henderson and told him to "begone from this side or words to that effect."⁹⁷

Some incidents appear rarely in the records, however, for Marylanders left little official or private commentary on their elections. Most county clerks even failed to record the transactions of the election courts, so knowledge rests primarily on incidental mention, usually reported in conjunction with disputed elections reviewed by the Lower House's Committee on Elections and Privileges. One must judge from these reports what was commonplace or unusual about election day activities.

Fortunately, clerks in one county, Kent, did record more extensive accounts of the elections held there for two decades beginning in 1698.⁹⁸ Seven different elections in that county, and presumably those held elsewhere as well, followed much the same stylized procedure, according to the clerks' accounts. The court convened on election day at about 9 a.m. when the writ and proclamation were read to "a very large appearance" of the gathered electorate, or as a clerk in Cecil later observed on several occasions to "A Great Concourse of the Freeholders."⁹⁹ After the sheriff had read the writ, the Court "giveth the Electors som Caution

and Advice and then ordered them to proceed to their Election." Generally the election was completed by the end of the day, with the sheriff making the decision when to close the poll. Occasionally, however, it became necessary to adjourn the election court to a second day or over a weekend before all seats were filled. Bad weather, complications regarding procedure, or disagreements among the voters might account for the adjournment. In Kent in November of 1708, for example, the clerk noted that "there being Severall heats and Disturbances amongst the people, the Sheriff with the advice of the Court thinks fitt to adjourn till Monday Tenn o'clock and that they may be the better to consult there Intrests for the advantage of there County."¹⁰⁰

The clerk's entries on the elections are tantalizingly brief at points. It is nowhere stated, for example, just what advice the justices gave to the freeholders. In 1678, the Council had clearly issued orders to the sheriff of Calvert County that the voters there be informed that they would be lacking a representative if they obstinately tried to elect Josias Fendall, who had been barred in 1661 from ever holding office again.¹⁰¹ Such specific instructions were probably rare, however. Perhaps the justices simply instructed voters on the importance of choosing wisely, but no doubt from time to time less scrupulous justices sought to set the mood or to influence voters by implicit if not explicit comments on or off the bench. The decision to adjourn the election court in 1708 may have constituted such a case. Did justices use the weekend to lobby among the voters, to inform them of the proper "Intrests for the advantage of there County"? This was a controversial election throughout the colony, regarded as a test vote of confidence on the recent Assembly's staunch opposition to Governor John Seymour's efforts to restrict the jurisdiction of local justices and the county courts. When the court reconvened on Monday morning, the "heats and Disturbances" had apparently been resolved, or at least the clerk provides no evidence of continuing conflict.¹⁰²

Freeholders voted generally by voice or by a show of hands. Only if there was some doubt regarding the outcome, or if electors on one side or the other so requested, was there a formal poll, in which case each separate voter indicated his preference before the view of everyone present. It is unclear whether candidates officially addressed the gathering. They certainly did not need to be present, but on at least one occasion, the candidates were brought into the court before the poll was taken. If present at the court, the winning candidate did enter after the vote to be presented to the crowd, to watch the signing of indentures, and to receive any grievances his constituents might want carried to the Assembly.¹⁰³

The possibility of tickets or slates of candidates, like the question of electoral subdivisions within counties, remains unclear, but the Kent County records of the royal period leave no doubt that opposition was common, although not always the practice, and that some form of pairing or districting was quite likely. Between 1694 and 1716, contests occurred for at least 17 and perhaps several more of the 32 available seats in Kent, for which election records survive. Voting proceeded in four separate elections, one seat determined after another, although on one occasion, in 1714/15, in a closely contested match which had to be adjourned overnight, the clerk recorded that "Mr. William Frisby sheriff proceeds to examine the Poles that was given on both sides—being near a like that by a Generall Voice both the Said Parties are to go as Delegates." Then the freeholders selected

a third and fourth representative in separate actions. However, in numerous other elections, candidates who were close contenders for the first or second seats failed to appear as candidates for any of the remaining positions. No satisfactory explanation accounts for the patterning of candidates. Geographical districts do not readily solve the puzzle, nor does it appear to be a matter of prestige attending a first seat which might render losers unwilling to accept a lower place.¹⁰⁴

Some embryonic party or factional division probably existed in Kent. Several families, for example the Hynsons, Harrises and Blays, always had opposition when any member became a candidate for a seat, and often the opposition followed predictable lines—such as Harrisses consistently contesting Blays. Elections during the tenure of Governor Seymour further suggest the emergence of a country “party”-court “party” split.¹⁰⁵

Over the 22 years, eight men won election “nemine contradicente” on one or more occasions, with Thomas Smith doing so three times, and William Frisby, Daniel Pearce and St. Leger Codd, Jr., each accomplishing the feat at least twice. They were indisputably among the wealthiest and best educated men in the county. Wealth and prestige were not an automatic guarantee of election, however, as the veteran burgesses Smith and Pearce discovered. Smith had won a contested election in 1694, but then had been unopposed in 1697/98, 1701 and 1704, and in these Assemblies he had played a leading role, even becoming speaker of the Lower House for four sessions from 1704 to 1707. After 1704, Smith had sided more frequently with the controversial Governor Seymour than with popular sentiment on several issues, and he had accepted a commission from Seymour to become one of the itinerant justices of the assize, an office which the Lower House adamantly refused to support. This alliance with the governor likely led to Smith’s inactivity in the elections of 1708 and 1712. When he stood once again in a by-election in 1714, it was undoubtedly an embarrassment for this experienced legislator—a militia colonel, a former Provincial Court justice, a former speaker, and a current nominee for the Council—to lose to William Blay, a candidate standing for the first time. Pearce, the son of a burgess, won unanimous election the first two times he stood in 1708, and perhaps also in 1712, but he lost in 1714/15 and again in 1715/16 for unexplained reasons. Voters “wholly declined” to support his candidacy in the latter election.¹⁰⁶

A few men in the colony apparently had sufficient stature to discourage opposition, except in the most heated of times. Whenever William Frisby chose to run, he was never opposed. Interestingly, Frisby often chose not to be a candidate. Other would-be burgesses had a less easy path to victory. That opposition was more the rule than the exception is suggested further by the Lower House’s questioning of the returns from Baltimore County in 1697/98. The Committee on Elections and Privileges was suspicious of the report that four men had been elected without opposition. The Assembly seated the four victorious candidates only after interrogation of six men from the county had provided sworn testimony of a proper election procedure and of unopposed candidates.¹⁰⁷

Competition for seats in the Assembly had probably become more common in the 1680s and 1690s and early eighteenth century than it had been earlier in Maryland’s history. While some opposition might center upon personalities, elections were increasingly affected by politicking over issues such as the pro-

proprietary prerogative, establishment of the Anglican church, county and provincial jurisdictions of power, tobacco regulation, taxation, and other financial matters.¹⁰⁸ Complaints of irregular election procedures and especially of attempts by sheriffs and clerks to affect the electoral process mounted frequently in the closing years of the century. The Committee of Elections and Privileges between 1692 and 1715 investigated charges of illegal procedures in at least 42 elections, and voided the returns in 13 of these instances. Among the grievances were the failure to notify all eligible voters, refusal to allow a poll when requested, and the scheduling of elections at inaccessible places, as in 1699 in St. Mary's County when the sheriff held a by-election "at a place of noe resort but a neck of land all together out of the way."¹⁰⁹

Because the committee did not function regularly before 1692, its surviving records may inaccurately skew the picture of disputed elections toward the later period. However, the very embryonic emergence of the committee in the late 1670s suggests a new and heightening concern then rising over seats in the Assembly, as well as the Lower House's desire to acquire greater control over the entire election procedure. Except for a dispute over the attempted election of Josias Fendall in 1678, no explicit mention survives of a challenged election before 1689, and only one definite instance of misconduct in an election. However, patterns of membership and Lord Baltimore's granting of representation for St. Mary's City to guarantee two seats for his supporters argue persuasively that increased competition for seats did occur in the last two decades of the first proprietary period.¹¹⁰ After 1689, both the direct and indirect evidence becomes quite pronounced for contested and disputed elections.

The absence of surviving voter lists, except for four from the period before 1652, or surviving election indentures renders impossible any extensive discussion of voter participation along the lines of the historiographical debate on the Massachusetts franchise.¹¹¹ Apart from a few vote totals in scattered elections, little is known about the actual voting in Maryland beyond the laws and ordinances of eligibility, except that both general citizenry and local officeholders were not always well acquainted themselves with the actual franchise requirements. In 1715/16, for example, the sheriff of Kent mistakenly asserted the necessity of possessing *both* 50 acres of land and personal property worth £ 40 sterling to qualify as a voter, and he prevented several men from voting on these grounds. That no one challenged his interpretation suggests little concrete awareness of the actual legislation.¹¹²

In most instances, voting probably proceeded in a casual manner with officeholders and the general populace possessing a vague understanding of who should or should not vote, based on one's local reputation and evidence of general solvency. Rigid enforcement of property qualifications probably did not occur except in extremely close races or where the individual in question was obviously indigent and unqualified. For example, in Dorchester County in 1701, John Lecompte had a winning margin of only two votes after the poll; a challenge and subsequent investigation disclosed that four people on his list and three on his opponent's list were ineligible and should be struck. Only after the contested election in Kent in August of 1708 was the victorious candidate Samuel Wallis challenged to prove possession of sufficient real estate or property in the county

to qualify himself, and later in 1714/15 in Kent, in another closely contested race eight voters were challenged to swear they qualified economically for the franchise.¹¹³

Still, the introduction of property qualifications for the suffrage in the 1670s had restricted Maryland's potential electorate. The economic hard times thereafter and growing obstacles against a freedman's establishing his own household and acquiring property served further to limit the percentage of the free adult male population which could legally vote for Assembly delegates. Concurrently, the candidates themselves more and more frequently came from a wealthy, elite segment of the society; from being "for the most part good ordinary Household-ers," as one observer described them in 1666, assemblymen soon rarely owned less than 1,000 acres of land and usually had personal estates worth over £ 500 at their deaths, which easily placed them among the wealthiest 4 percent of the population.¹¹⁴

Precise figures on the eligible electorate are unavailable, but recent analyses of several counties using rent rolls and census data for the first decade of the eighteenth century reveal a sizeable proportion of the adult male population who would not qualify. For example, from one-fourth to one-third of the heads of households in these counties were landless and would not satisfy minimum property requirements for the vote, although some tenants, with long-term leases, probably were considered eligible. Growing numbers of freedmen, however, were not even becoming heads of households. In Prince George's County in 1704, free adult males who were neither housekeepers nor sons still residing in their parents' homes constituted an estimated 34 percent of the county's taxables. Throughout the colony, only from one-third to two-thirds of the adult free males probably qualified to vote, with the percentage varying in relation to the distribution of wealth and economic opportunities in the respective areas. Approximately 65 percent of the adult free males were eligible in Charles County, a figure which represented about 40 percent of all adult white males and 10 percent of the county's total population, but Charles at this time had probably the lowest proportion of landless householders among the counties on the lower Western Shore. Across the bay in Talbot County, probably 44 percent of the free adult males could vote, a noticeable decline from approximately 55 percent in the 1680s, and the figure would diminish further to about 33 percent by the 1730s.¹¹⁵

Throughout the period under study, however, contemporaries clearly worried less over who was eligible or how many qualified, than they fretted over how to get more eligible voters actually to participate in elections. In the 1640s, when all free males in Maryland still possessed the suffrage, perhaps one-half usually exercised their franchise, according to a comparison of tax lists and the few surviving indentures or voting lists of the period.¹¹⁶ In the 1690s, officials worried openly about the strikingly poor participation among unquestionably qualified voters at several elections. Governor Francis Nicholson was sufficiently alarmed in 1694 to propose a law which would levy a fine on any freeholder who failed to appear at the time and place of an election without a lawful excuse, and he wanted a requirement that freeholders "be obliged to stay there until such Election is over." Prior to Nicholson's proposal, the only explicit mention of concern over a low turnout had come in 1689 when many freeholders deliberately

boycotted the elections called by John Coode and the Protestant Associators who had overthrown the proprietary government.¹¹⁷

Nothing came of Nicholson's proposal, but officials expressed concern again in 1696 when a by-election in Talbot County attracted less than 40 people with only 22 or 23 actually signing election indentures. With much shorter notice and other special circumstances attending by-elections, participation might understandably fall below that expected when all four seats were to be determined, but even so the Talbot turnout in a county of 1379 taxables was lamentably low.¹¹⁸ Coming simultaneously with a Calvert election of unseemly haste and low turnout as well, the Talbot vote prompted Nicholson, under fire from some burgesses, to question ways to enlist more participation. The possible acceptance of sealed absentee ballots arose, but the Lower House eventually concluded that the election law already provided sufficiently for elections and no changes should be legislated.¹¹⁹

The matter did not die, however. In 1708 again, the Upper House, noting that "It having been often Experienced that they [freeholders] are very indifferent & remiss on these occasions," pushed for legislation to encourage higher participation. The Lower House again opposed any law and expressed a belief "the Interest of their Queen & Country" was sufficient to encourage voters "to Take Care of what Persons they Elect." The burgesses also noted that such laws as the one proposed were not customary in England. They did acquiesce in the revised election law of that year to include measures to improve voter awareness of the time of elections and to schedule them at more convenient places.¹²⁰

Finally in 1715, again at the instigation of the Upper House, an amendment to the act on elections established a penalty of 100 pounds of tobacco for any qualified voter who failed to appear at an election, with one-half of the fine going to county expenses and one-half to the informer. There is little indication of the act's success or failure in achieving its objective.¹²¹

The apathy of Maryland voters, or their relative contentment with the status quo, differed little from attitudes of their contemporaries in England where voter turnout also fell well below its potential. J.H. Plumb has discovered a high proportion of "single voters," men who voted but occasionally, say one in four elections, and then probably because of the intensity of issues and more vigorous canvassing by candidates and their supporters to get out the vote. Plumb's picture of more frequent contests between 1660 and 1715, of closely fought elections, of gentry divided on issues, and of the House of Commons' making greater attempts to assure fair and just elections, especially in rebuking sheriffs, has its remarkable counterpart in Maryland. The eligible electorate in the colony certainly exceeded the estimated 4.7 percent of the population and 15 percent of the adult males who generally qualified in England during this period, but those who were eligible seem to have behaved quite similarly to their countrymen at home.¹²²

By the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century, the election process and eligibility for the suffrage and for officeholding in Maryland had achieved a remarkable harmony with English law and practice, or at least with what the colonists assumed to be the English model. As these characteristics of representative government became more "English," the Lower House itself increasingly employed the concept that it was Maryland's House of Commons. With greater control over its own elections and membership, and with a more stable institu-

tional foundation, the Assembly was prepared to challenge more emphatically executive authority in the colony and to follow the cherished example of the English Parliament in resisting suspected tyranny. The earlier evolution of electoral practices and laws in this Chesapeake colony had provided the solid foundation for the political struggles of the eighteenth century.

REFERENCES

1. B. Katharine Brown, "The Controversy over the Franchise in Puritan Massachusetts, 1954 to 1974," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 33 (1976): 212-241 surveys much of that recent literature.
2. Typical of that chronological focus is Robert J. Dinkin, *A Study of Elections in the Thirteen Colonies, 1689-1776* (Westport, Conn., 1977). J. R. Pole, *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Berkeley, 1966), uses Virginia as one case study, but Pole moves quickly to the eighteenth century. More specialized studies of the Chesapeake colonies in that century include Charles Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1952); Robert E. and B. Katherine Brown, *Virginia, 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?* (East Lansing, 1964); and David C. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland's Democracy* (Westport, Conn., 1973). The late John C. Rainbolt began a promising inquiry in his essay "The Alteration of the Relationship Between Leadership and Constituents in Virginia, 1660 to 1720," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 27 (1970): 411-434, and Edmund S. Morgan has recently refocused scholars' attention on the exciting political world of seventeenth-century Virginia in *American Slavery—American Freedom* (New York, 1975). Four recent dissertations have also focused on these questions for the early Chesapeake—David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689-1715," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1966); Lois Green Carr, "County Government in Maryland, 1689-1709," (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1968); Susan Rosenfeld Falb, "Advice and Ascent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635-1689," (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1976); and Martin Herbert Quitt, "Virginia House of Burgesses 1660-1706: The Social, Educational and Economic Bases of Political Power," (Ph.D. diss., Washington University 1970).
3. Full membership lists of all assemblies, the dates of sessions, and biographies of the delegates are found in Edward C. Papenfuss, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1979-). Falb, "Advice and Ascent," Chapter 2 discusses the early assemblies and especially the matter of proxies.
4. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), p. 153; William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-), 1: 3, 6, 22. Bradnox and Beckler did not appear until the last day.
5. Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689* (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 196-198, 202-203.
6. John Langford and Edmund Parrie who had voted in the choice of Philpott to be a burgess revoked their action and attended personally. Christopher Thomas, Richard Thompson and Henry Crawly simply appeared as freemen of Kent and were admitted. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 6, 8, 15, 19, 22.
7. Many of the freemen attended only briefly and then assigned proxies to some one else, while at least 24 men never attended personally at all. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 2-24. On St. Mary's City, see Lois Green Carr, "The Metropolis of Maryland: A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 124-127.
8. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 32.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 75. This act was to continue until the end of the next Assembly.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75. This statute would have been in effect until the proprietor's dissent.
12. Bradley T. Johnson, "The Foundation of Maryland and the Origin of the Act Concerning Religion of April 21, 1649," *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 18* (Baltimore, 1883), p. 50.
13. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 81-84.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 113-115.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116; Sebastian F. Streeter, "Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 9* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 163.
18. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 122, 127-128. A newly settled area, not yet officially designated a

hundred, elected a representative, Henry Bishop, who was denied a seat. He was later elected from the parent hundred and seated by the Assembly. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 171–180.
20. The February 1644/45 Assembly, for which no membership records survive, was probably a general assembly; the Assembly of 1646–1646/47 was a bicameral legislature with an elected Lower House; at least 26 freemen joined one councillor and the governor to comprise the Assembly of 1647/48; and the Assembly of 1649 was again an elected body.
21. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 259, 260–261.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 272–273.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
24. For example, Baker Brooke and Nathaniel Utie, both manor lords, so sat with the Upper House in 1658 and each subsequently received full appointment to the Council.
25. "Some Records of the House of Assembly of Barbados," *The Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, 10 (1943): 173–187; Warren M. Billings, "The Growth of Political Institutions in Virginia, 1634 to 1676," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 31 (1974): 235; Robert Emmet Wall, Jr., "The Membership of the Massachusetts General Court, 1634–1686" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1965).
26. Craven, *The Southern Colonies*, pp. 167–172, 200–204; Edward B. Mathews, *The Counties of Maryland: Their Origins, Boundaries, and Election Districts*, Maryland Geological Survey, Special Publications, VI, Part V (Baltimore, 1907).
27. Billings, "Growth of Political Institutions," p. 235.
28. *Archives of Maryland*, 41: 61–62, italics added.
29. *Ibid.*, 41: 325.
30. Carr, "County Government in Maryland," p. 234, discusses geographical concentration of delegates in Prince George's County. A fuller discussion of possible districting or ticketing follows below.
31. *Archives of Maryland*, 51: 389, 392–393; 27: 267.
32. *Ibid.*, 2: 239, 241, 345.
33. The most extended discussion of this procedure with helpful references to parallels in English and Virginia practices appears in Carr, "County Government," pp. 380–391.
34. *Archives of Maryland*, 13: 542; 19: 314. See also 22: 413, 414, 415, 416; 27: 209.
35. *Ibid.*, 27: 352–355. In Somerset County in 1708, the proclamation was read November 2 and the election held November 18. Somerset Judicial Record, 1707–1711, ff. 151, 169, Hall of Records, Annapolis. On the English practice, see William Hakewel, *Modus tenendi Parliamentus: or, The Old Manner of Holding Parliament in England* (London, 1671), p. 2.
36. *Archives of Maryland*, 7: 114.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–124.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 529, 531.
39. *Ibid.* 20: 293–294; 19: 242.
40. *Ibid.*, 23: 287–289.
41. See, for example, *ibid.*, 22: 368, 426, 434, 438, 445; 24: 35, 71, 78; 27: 411–412, 430, 456.
42. Richard L. Bushman, "English Franchise Reform in the Seventeenth Century," *The Journal of British Studies*, III (1963): 36–56. More recently, Derek Hirst has argued the 40-shilling freehold requirement was less discriminatory than Bushman asserts, since a holding of four to five acres met the requirement. Claiming that men with other forms of land tenures also voted, and allowing for the broader franchise in borough elections, Hirst suggests that somewhere between 27 percent and 40 percent of the adult males could vote in England in the 1640s. *The Representative of the People?: Voters and Voting in England Under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 29–105.
43. "A [Massachusetts] law of 1631 limited voting on provincial matters to church members who had taken the oath of freemanship, and four years later this rule was applied to local and town voting as well." Brown, "The Controversy over the Franchise," p. 213.
44. In an election for St. Clement's Hundred in 1640, seven men voted, four of whom were illiterate. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 89. The Assembly of 1640–41 had a total of 15 members. At least four were former servants and the current economic status of the representatives extended from probably no ownership of land to possession of over 1,000 acres. Two members had attended universities in England, while at least one was illiterate and literacy is unproven for five others. There were six identifiable Catholics and four Protestants among those present. For membership lists and details on the members, see *Biographical Dictionary*.
45. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 2, 5, 16–17; Thomas Hughes, S.J., *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal* (4 vols., London, 1907), 1: 382–383.
46. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 218.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
49. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 228.
50. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 340.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 340–341.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 370.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 398 (quotes); 3: 404, 406, 407; Betty Kemp, *Kings and Commons, 1660–1832* (London, 1965), p. 9.
54. David W. Jordan, "Maryland's Privy Council, 1637–1715," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuss, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), pp. 71–74.
55. *Archives of Maryland*, 51: 389, 392–394; *The Calvert Papers, Number One*, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications Number 28* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 265–566. St. Mary's City had a very small resident population. In 1678, there were at most 30 houses, and town officers, appointed by the proprietor, occasionally did not even live in town. See Carr, "The Metropolis of Maryland," pp. 123–145.
56. No Assembly prior to 1671 sat for more than two sessions, and only four of the 22 Assemblies had even held a second session. In Virginia, a new Assembly was elected annually or biennially until 1662, when the new legislature began a 14-year tenure. Philip Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., New York, 1910), 2: 431–432. Concern about excluding men who had accepted appointments as sheriff from Lord Baltimore began at this time. See footnote 66 below.
57. For the Assembly of 1671–1674/75, there were rapid by-elections for St. Mary's and Calvert Counties and for St. Mary's City, while Anne Arundel County had no representative for a vacancy after the third session and Charles had no replacement for a vacancy that had occurred before the first session convened. By the following Assembly, 1676–1682, Calvert apparently had become more consistent. *Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 26–27.
58. *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 137–138.
59. Provincial voting in Massachusetts was altered by a law of 1664 to include nonchurchmembers who were 24 years old, certifiably orthodox, settled inhabitants, householders and freeholders taxable to the full value of ten shillings. Brown, "Controversy over the Franchise," p. 233. In Virginia, the Assembly restricted the franchise in 1670 to landowners and housekeepers. Morgan, *American Slavery*, p. 238. J.R. Pole has argued that the homogeneity of the population prior to 1660 in the various colonies probably explains their broad suffrage, but that after mid-century widening divisions especially on economic aspects of the population fostered "a certain hardening of social attitudes" and led to limitations, primarily economic, on the right to vote. *The Seventeenth Century: The Sources of Legislative Power* (Charlottesville, 1969), especially pp. 43–63.
60. *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 77–78; 51: 133–134, 174–175.
61. *Ibid.*, 15: 138–139. On growing differentiations in wealth, see Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 30 (1973): 37–64; Lorena S. Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland, 1658–1705," in Land et al., *Law, Society and Politics*, pp. 111–133; and Russell R. Menard, P.M.G. Harris, and Lois Green Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality: The Distribution of Wealth on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638–1705," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 169–184.
62. Quoted in Morgan, *American Slavery*, p. 238.
63. *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 134–149, especially pp. 137–138, 144, 146, 149. The author complained that Calvert summoned "2 out of theas 4, pikt out for his purposes, viz. either papists, owne creatures and familiars or ignoramuses." (137).
64. *Ibid.*, 7: 12.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 17, 19, 22, 25, 31, 60–63 (act). No member of this Assembly is known to have possessed less than 300 acres, and only 11 of the 42 members owned under 1,000 acres.
66. *Ibid.*, 15: 378–379; 17: 15–17. In 1674, Luke Gardiner of St. Mary's had resigned his seat upon becoming sheriff. However, Richard Ladd of Calvert served concurrently as sheriff and burgess from 1678/79 to 1681, as did Jonathan Sybrey of Cecil during the years 1676 to 1681. The following Assembly successfully challenged this practice and found Miles Gibson of Baltimore ineligible to sit since he had accepted an appointment as sheriff. (*Archives of Maryland*, 7: 531). Thereafter, it became the practice for any delegate appointed as sheriff to resign immediately and to be replaced in the Assembly. See also Hakewel, *Modus tenendi Parliamentus*, p. 49.
67. See especially *Archives of Maryland*, 7: 452–453.
68. *Ibid.*, 8: 102–103, 119.
69. *Ibid.*, 13: 541–544; 19: 100–101; 26, 429–430. The Assembly defeated efforts in 1696 and 1715 to reduce the number of burgesses to two or three in order to cut expenses. *Ibid.*, 19: 305; 30, 60,

- 142, 160. Virginia had only two burgesses per county. Instructions to royal governors by 1694 stipulated that members of the Assembly were to be elected only by freeholders "as being most agreeable to the custome of England." Ibid., 23: 542.
70. Ibid., 26: 294-296, 429-430. The act of 1704 included provisions for a fine on the sheriff if he conducted the election irregularly. The Assembly in 1701 had also determined the sheriff was ineligible to vote. Ibid., 24: 167. There was never any written age requirement for membership, but the Lower House had declined to seat Thomas Frisby in 1702 for being underage. By the time voters of Cecil had reconvened for a new election, Frisby had turned 21 and was re-elected. Ibid., 24: 298, 356.
71. Ibid., 24: 352-355.
72. Ibid., 8: 264, 265; 13: 252, 254, 257 (quote). The oath of allegiance swore faithfulness to William and Mary, later to William, and then to his successor Anne. The test oath was a declaration against transubstantiation. See Ibid., 19: 30. In 1699, after the death of Mary, one had to subscribe to the oath of association (ibid., 22: 285, 288), which was replaced at the accession of Anne by the oath of abjuration, which pledged allegiance to the Queen and denied any allegiance to the son of James II. Ibid., 26: 30.
73. Ibid., 13: 354, 358, 366; 19: 29.
74. Ibid., 24: 340, 418-420.
75. Ibid., pp. 330, 360. For their taking the oaths earlier, see ibid., 24: 128-129; 22: 3. Lowe's wife and daughter were Catholics and he was a nominal Anglican or closet Catholic. He returned to local office in 1709, after Seymour's death, as a justice and militia officer. Hall was raised a Quaker, but he held a pew in All Saints' Anglican Church in 1703/04; he signed a statement as a Quaker in 1715. Hall never held office again and died in 1716/17. See *Biographical Dictionary*, s.v.
76. Seymour to Lords of Trade, Sept. 29, 1704, C.O. 5/715/, same to same, March 10, 1708/09, C.O. 5/727, and Lords of Trade to Seymour, Jan. 3, 1705/06, C.O. 5/713, all in Public Record Office, London.
77. Act of 12 and 13 Wm. III, c. 2, provided that no naturalized citizen of England could serve in the Parliament. Attorney General Edward Northey issued an important opinion, approved by the Privy Council in April of 1703, that the act of a colonial legislature naturalizing a resident, while rendering that person in effect a natural born subject of that colony, did not alter his alien status in England. C.O. 152/5, no. 18. I am grateful to David Sloan for providing this citation. Matthias Vanderheyden, naturalized in 1692, sat as a burgess from 1701 to 1718; he was not present at the Assembly which passed the act in 1708. On Hagar, see James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870* (Chapel Hill, 1978), pp. 124-126. In 1692 and again in 1696 and 1708, the Lower House had followed English precedent in declining to seat men who were or had been "in holy orders." *Archives of Maryland*, 13: 359, 366; David W. Jordan, "John Coode, Perennial Rebel," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (1975): 19-20, 27.
78. Jordan, "The Royal Period," pp. 208-315. The original charter bestowing representation has not survived. For the Assembly's response, see *Archives of Maryland* 27: 209-210, 213, 216. The delegates were William Bladen and Wornell Hunt. On the English development, see Kemp, *King and Commons*, pp. 10-13.
79. *Archives of Maryland*, 26: 39, 134; 25: 249; 27: 209.
80. Ibid., 27: 216, 220-221.
81. Ibid., 272, 273, 275, 358-360. The charter bestowed the vote on the mayor, recorder, aldermen, common councilmen and all freeholders "that is to say all persons owning a whole Lott of Land with a house built thereon according to Law and all persons actually inhabiting and residing in the said City having a Visible Estate of the Value of Twenty Pounds Sterling at the least and likewise all persons that hereafter shall serve five years to any Trade within the city and shall after the expiration of their time be actually housekeepers and inhabitants in the same." Chancery Records, PC, f. 600, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
82. *Archives of Maryland*, 30: 270-274. A proprietary proclamation on elections in 1681 had spoken of burgesses "now liveing and resideing within their said county . . ." but if this was intended as a residency requirement it was not included in the Assembly's act of 1692 or subsequent laws before 1715. Ibid., 15: 379.
83. Chancery Records, PC, f. 600. In March, 1701/02, Edward Dorsey, a burgess from Baltimore, was excused from a session to go to vote in an Anne Arundel by-election. He held considerable property in both counties. *Archives of Maryland* 24: 252. Statistics for either Maryland or Virginia in the seventeenth century are not available, but two historians have found plural voting "of virtually no significance" in Virginia in the late eighteenth century. Robert and Katherine Brown, *Virginia, 1705-1786*, p. 152.
84. Six of these 28 men represented St. Mary's City or Annapolis, as well as the counties of St. Mary's or Anne Arundel. See *Biographical Dictionary*, I: 15-41.
85. Ibid., pp. 26-27, 33-34. *Archives of Maryland*, 15: 46; 19: 212-215, 318, 330, 365, 367, 404, 475;

- Lower House Journal, Sept. 18, 1696, C.O. 5/719/IV, no. 17.
86. Kent Court Proceedings, 1707-1709, f. 150, Hall of Records; *ibid.*, 1676-1698, f. 877; *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 25; 22: 77.
 87. *Archives of Maryland*, 30: 617-622, (Act of 1716); 33: 287-289, (Act of 1718).
 88. *Ibid.*, 23: 414, 451.
 89. *Ibid.*, 25: 582-583.
 90. *Ibid.*, 23: 144, 211, 219, 222, 223-224 (quote), 278-279. Proponents of the legislation cited the Act of Parliament of 7th and 8th William, chap. 27, sect. 19. In 1708, Seymour had reported a census of Catholics in Maryland, citing a total of 2,974, with 1,238 in St. Mary's County and 709 in Calvert. Seymour to Lords of Trade, Sept. 7, 1708 and enclosure, C.O. 5/716/III. To discourage the importation of servants from Ireland, the Assembly enacted in 1704 and revived in 1708 a 20-shilling importation tax on each Irish servant. *Archives of Maryland*, 26: 289-292; 27: 371.
 91. For example, Thomas Edmondson, raised a Quaker, and Charles Carroll, Barrister, from a Catholic family, each served in the Assembly after 1715. *Biographical Directory* contains their profiles and the known religious connections of all other Maryland legislators prior to 1789.
 92. *Archives of Maryland*, 34: 447. On the struggle in England, see Kemp, *King and Commons*, pp. 22-23, 52-64. An act excluding pensioners for a brief period had finally passed in 1716 in England.
 93. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 89; see *ibid.*, pp. 104, 105 for other early elections.
 94. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders, passim*. For a colorful description of an election in Virginia in 1710, see Pierre Marambaud, *William Byrd of Westover 1674-1744* (Charlottesville, 1971), p. 207.
 95. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 412; 8: 120. On election days in England, see Hirst, *Representative of the People?* pp. 109-156.
 96. Robert and Katherine Brown, *Virginia, 1705-1786*, p. 153; Morgan, *American Slavery*, p. 358.
 97. Talbot Court Records, NN No. 6, f. 32b (rear); Prince George's Court Records, Liber 1(G), f. 718. These volumes and subsequently cited county records are all on deposit at the Hall of Records. The problem in Talbot arose from the frustration of freeholders who wanted to elect Quaker John Edmondson who had just been disqualified for his inability to subscribe to the required oaths.
 98. See Kent Court Proceedings I, f. 877 (1697/98); *ibid.*, ID No. 2, f. 57 (1701); *ibid.*, GL I, f. 378 (1704); *ibid.*, 1707-1709, ff. 150, 157 (1708); *ibid.*, JS No. W. ff. 28-29 (1714), 51-52 (1714/15), 122-124 (1715/16). These elections to 1708 have also been discussed in Carr, "County Government," pp. 383-388.
 99. Cecil Judgments, SK No. 1, ff. 46, 240, 382, speaking of election courts in 1719, 1720, and 1721.
 100. It was perhaps the adjournment in November 1708 which later caused the Lower House to question the sheriff of Kent for irregular proceedings in the election. *Archives of Maryland*, 27: 293. Cecil also had a two-day election, April 3-4, 1719. Cecil Judgments, SK No. 1, f. 6.
 101. *Archives of Maryland*, 15: 192-193.
 102. David W. Jordan, "Political Stability and the Emergence of A Native Elite in Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp. 260-261. The question of "advice" is all the more pertinent since candidates by this period usually came from among the justices themselves. In at least one election in Somerset County, "the Justices arose from the Bench" before voting actually began. Otherwise nothing further is known of their activity. Somerset Judicial Record, 1693-1694, f. 110.
 103. For example, in 1708 in Kent, in the case of two of the four seats, candidates appeared before the crowd before the poll was taken. On the interaction of representatives and constituents, see *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 372-373; 7: 369, 424; 19: 577; and Hall, *Narratives*, p. 350.
 104. Kent Court Proceedings, JS No. W, ff. 51-52 (quote).
 105. John Salter first ran unsuccessfully against John Hynson in 1701 for one seat, and then defeated Hynson's brother Charles in a battle for a subsequent seat the same day. The successful candidates were generally incumbent justices in Kent, with three of the four burgesses elected in 1701 and 1704 currently sitting and a fourth man in the latter year the former chief justice. In 1708, however, voters elected only one justice, as they voiced their disapproval of those local men who had accepted commissions from Governor Seymour, who had substantially reordered the county bench.
 106. *Biographical Dictionary*, s.v., and Kent election court records cited in footnote 93.
 107. *Archives of Maryland*, 22: 78-79. In 1666, Charles County had unanimously elected three of its four burgesses; *ibid.*, 2: 8.
 108. Jordan, *Royal Period*, 82-86, 147-148, 186-188, 212-220, 253-254; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 65 (1970): 149-170.

- One recent student has argued that contested elections after 1689 in colonial America arose more over differing backgrounds and personalities of candidates than over local and provincial issues, but that seems exaggerated for Maryland for the years before 1715. Dinkin, *Voting in Provincial America*, p. 8.
109. These cases do not include invalidation of elections where candidates were not qualified or were not seated by virtue of age, religious beliefs, etc. See *Archives of Maryland*, 13: 353, 355, 358; 19: 25, 314; 22: 78-79, 413, 414, 415, 416, 445 (quote); 24: 166-167; 27: 205, 209, 210, 290, 293, 333, 417, 455, 457, 520; 29: 136-137, 144-145; 30: 113. In 1712, Sheriff James Presbury of Baltimore County, charged with showing partiality in the conduct of an election, admitted his guilt and blamed his actions on menacing letters from gentlemen living near Patapsco. He was fined 1700 pounds of tobacco. *Ibid.*, 29: 136-137, 144-145. In 1708, Sheriff Daniel Sherwood of Talbot County confessed that he refused a poll when it was legally requested and he had adjourned the election court to another time and place. *Ibid.*, 27: 290, 417. In Virginia, between 1684 and 1706, the Lower House had to settle 18 election disputes. Quitt, "Virginia House of Burgesses," p. 238.
 110. In 1659/60, three delegates from St. Mary's were ruled unduly elected for unspecified reasons; two of the three were immediately re-elected. *Archives of Maryland* 1: 383. In Somerset in 1669, voters had elected two burgesses, but the sheriff returned indentures for just one; the sheriff was fined. *Ibid.*, 2: 187-188. Finally, there was some confusion, unstated, about returns from Kent in 1642. *Ibid.*, 1: 129-130. No doubt, sheriffs and justices before 1689, as well as after, failed on occasion to show due concern for full participation. In October, 1683, for example, Baltimore county officials apparently made no attempt to inform all voters for a by-election which was held one day after the court of proclamation. Baltimore Court Proceedings, D, f. 85.
 111. Indentures survive for St. Clement's Hundred in 1640 and 1641, St. George's Hundred in 1641, and a strange indenture for St. Mary's in 1652, although no other record exists of an election or Assembly for that year. *Archives of Maryland* 1: 89, 104, 105; 49: 112.
 112. Kent Court Proceedings, JS No. W, f. 123. Hirst argues similarly of a widespread ignorance and confusion about suffrage requirements in early Stuart England, and a generally lax enforcement of the law. Hirst, *Representative of the People?*, especially pp. 21-25.
 113. *Archives of Maryland*, 24: 166-167; Kent Court Proceedings, 1707-1709, f. 150; *ibid.*, JS No. W, ff. 51-52.
 114. Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 350-351 (quote); Jordan, "Political Stability," pp. 263-270.
 115. Carr, "County Government," Text, pp. 586, 601-656; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial Maryland," in Tate and Ammerman, *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 206-242, especially p. 241; Lorena Seebach Walsh, "Charles County Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1977), especially pp. 22, 314, 399, 415, 500; Paul G.E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), especially pp. 163-164, 170.
 116. In 1640 and 1641, seven and four men's names appear respectively on indentures in St. Clement's Hundred, while a 1642 tax list shows at least 20 colonists paying taxes. In St. George's, 16 names appear in 1641, a year when 30 men paid taxes. For St. Mary's in 1652, 37 names are on the indenture; the county had an estimated total population of 280 in 1648 with 148 taxables, and at least 110 households by 1658. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 142; Russell R. Menard, "Population and Land Distribution in St. Mary's County, 1634-1710," St. Mary's City Commission, Annapolis.
 117. *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 51-54 (quote); 8: 117, 120, 154. A challenge to a 1694 election in Kent was made by 52 persons, a "Major part of the freeholders and freemen of Kent." *Ibid.*, 19: 25; The population of Kent in 1694 was 1160 with 447 taxables. *Ibid.*, 25: 225; An Account of Taxables, included in letter of Governor Nicholson to Board of Trade, March 27, 1697, C.O. 5/714.
 118. Nicholson to Board of Trade, March 27, 1697, CO 5/714; *Archives of Maryland*, 19, 312-313.
 119. *Ibid.*, 19: 314, 361-362.
 120. *Ibid.*, 27: 249-250 (second quote), 251 (first quote), 317.
 121. *Ibid.*, 30: 173, 273. A by-election in Baltimore county in 1721 drew only 107 voters; the population of the county in 1720 was estimated at 4100. Baltimore Court Proceedings, IS No. c, f. 615; Arthur E. Karinen, "Maryland Population: 1631-1730," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 54: (1959): 405. Virginia law had established in 1662 a fine of 200 pounds of tobacco for failure to vote and included this item in the codified election law of 1705. Quitt, "Virginia House of Burgesses," p. 202.
 122. J.H. Plumb, "The Growth of the Electorate in England From 1660 to 1715," *Past and Present*, 45: (1969): 90-116.

Residential Development on a Landed Estate: The Case of Baltimore's "Harlem"

MARTHA J. VILL

THE BUILDING OF THE AMERICAN CITY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR OCCURRED within the context of a rapidly expanding urban population, massive immigration, industrialization, and rapidly accelerating technological development in urban transportation. The building of new housing was a major contributor to the areal expansion of the city, but the amount and kind of housing in any one city varied with its rate of population growth and the amount of existing housing. Although the increased demand for housing and urban services was generated by broadly based forces affecting the nation as a whole, the response to that demand varied greatly. Within a particular city, local conditions, such as the availability of capital, influenced the way in which particular developers could meet the expanding demand. Although there is a substantial body of literature concerning the urbanization of the nation, there is very little information available about the actual process of building the city.

The occupation of a newly built house was the culmination of the processes of land subdivision, preparation of the land for building by laying out streets and building lots, providing utilities, and the actual building of the house. These activities occurred unevenly throughout the city, and may have been performed at one site by the same person or by different people. Although some urban dwellers were able to afford custom designed and built homes, most were not. Even those able to afford new houses found their homes from the stock built on speculation by builders and developers.

Little is known of who was involved in the speculative building process, how they operated, how they were financed, and for whom they built. Yet analyses of the process of urban growth as well as modern theoretical discussions of urban structure are predicated on the assumption of the importance of construction in stimulating local earnings, the continuing expansion of the city's built-up area, and the movement of people into newly developed areas. Thus, the lack of specific knowledge of the building and development process is a serious obstacle to our understanding of the overall process of urban growth.

This study will examine the residential development of "Harlem," one of Baltimore's landed estates, in an attempt to identify some of the characteristics

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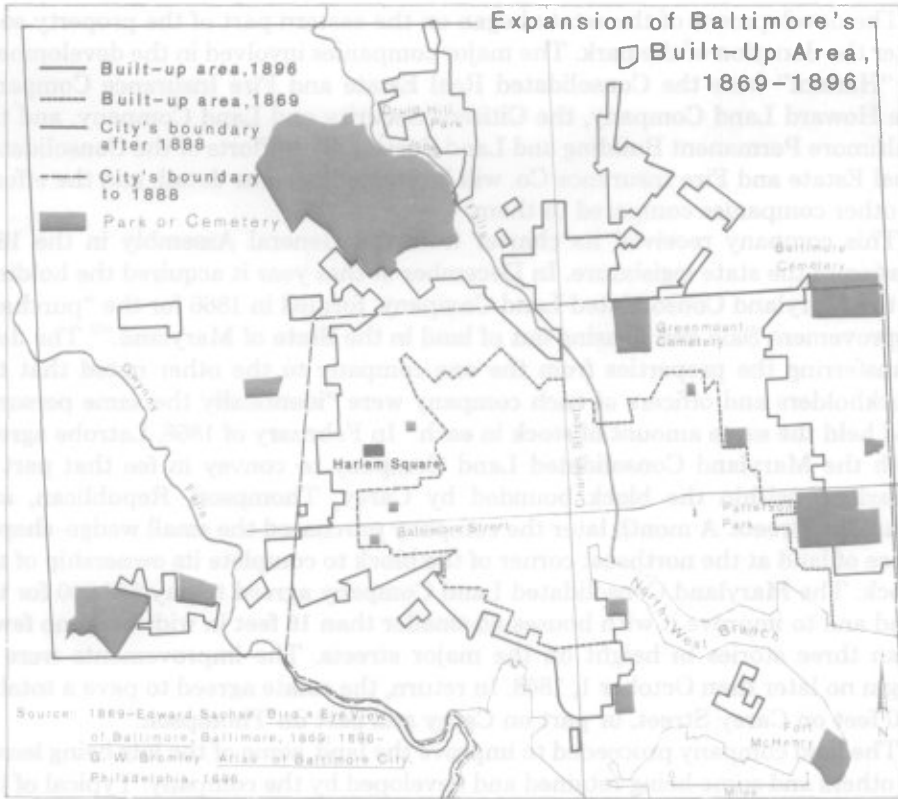


Figure 1

of land development in the city after the Civil War. "Harlem" is a suitable choice for such a study for a number of reasons. The estate was within that part of the city that expanded most rapidly after the Civil War (Figure 1). A variety of individuals and companies was involved in its development, providing the opportunity to compare their activities. It was also an arena of activity for some men who became increasingly prominent in building and development activity as the century progressed, so that a study of their activities in "Harlem" provides a foundation for further study of their efforts. Lastly, its development around a public square, donated to the city, was typical of large scale development schemes.

"Harlem" encompassed an area of approximately 56 acres in the western part of the city. It became available for development after the death of Dr. Thomas Edmondson in 1856. Upon his death, the management of the estate passed to the hands of his executors, William Buckler, Sr. and John H.B. Latrobe, who were to manage the property in trust for the Edmondson children. In 1865, Buckler refused to serve any longer as trustee and Latrobe became the sole executor and trustee. Before the Civil War there was little activity on the estate, but in 1868, Latrobe donated nine and three-fourths acres to the mayor and city council to be used forever as a public park. The donation also included the beds of the streets located within the Edmondson property.¹

The development of the estate began on the eastern part of the property soon after the donation of the park. The major companies involved in the development of "Harlem" were the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company, the Howard Land Company, the Citizens Security and Land Company, and the Baltimore Permanent Building and Land Society. The efforts of the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Co. will be treated in some detail, and the efforts of other companies compared to them.

This company received its charter from the General Assembly in the 1868 session of the state legislature. In December of that year it acquired the holdings of the Maryland Consolidated Land Company, formed in 1866 for the "purchase, improvement Sale and Leasing out of land in the State of Maryland."² The deed transferring the properties from the one company to the other noted that the stockholders and officers of each company were "identically the same persons" and held the same amount of stock in each.³ In February of 1868, Latrobe agreed with the Maryland Consolidated Land Company to convey in fee that part of "Harlem" within the block bounded by Carey, Thompson, Republican, and Franklin Streets. A month later the company purchased the small wedge-shaped piece of land at the northeast corner of the block to complete its ownership of the block. The Maryland Consolidated Land Company agreed to pay \$27,000 for the land and to improve it with houses no smaller than 16 feet in width and no fewer than three stories in height on the major streets. The improvements were to begin no later than October 1, 1868. In return, the estate agreed to pave a total of 400 feet on Carey Street, or part on Carey and part on Thompson.⁴

The land company proceeded to improve the land, some of the lots being leased to others and some being retained and developed by the company. Typical of the company's leases was that granted to John Cramblitt in September of 1868.⁵ Cramblitt obtained a lease to six parcels of land, each 16 feet by 103 feet, on the north side of Franklin Street and each subject to a ground rent of \$64 per year, beginning the following January 1. The company made the lease with the understanding that Cramblitt would improve the properties "by the erection of a brick dwelling house on each of said lots all to be built in a substantial and workmanlike manner . . . of merchantable materials . . ." and that the company would lend money to Cramblitt to facilitate the work. To secure the loan, Cramblitt passed a mortgage on the six properties to the land company.⁶

The terms of the mortgage were quite specific, reiterating the requirement of three-story buildings 16 feet wide. The houses were to present a uniform appearance "with fronts of good press brick costing not less than thirty-five dollars per thousand. . . ." In addition, the terms of the loan prescribed that each house was to have a cellar and a two-story back building; it specified the heights of the ceilings and the spacing between the joists and between windows. Window sills, door sills, cornices, and front steps were to be of wood, and the floors of "good quality eastern shore [sic] pine." Cramblitt had to build each house with "bath arrangements, hot and cold water and gas fixtures . . ." all to be started by October 1, 1868 and ready for occupancy by July 1, 1869.

To facilitate the above building, the land company agreed to loan Cramblitt \$9,600 to be used to defray the building expenses. The builder did not receive the money in a lump sum, but in installments as he completed various stages of the

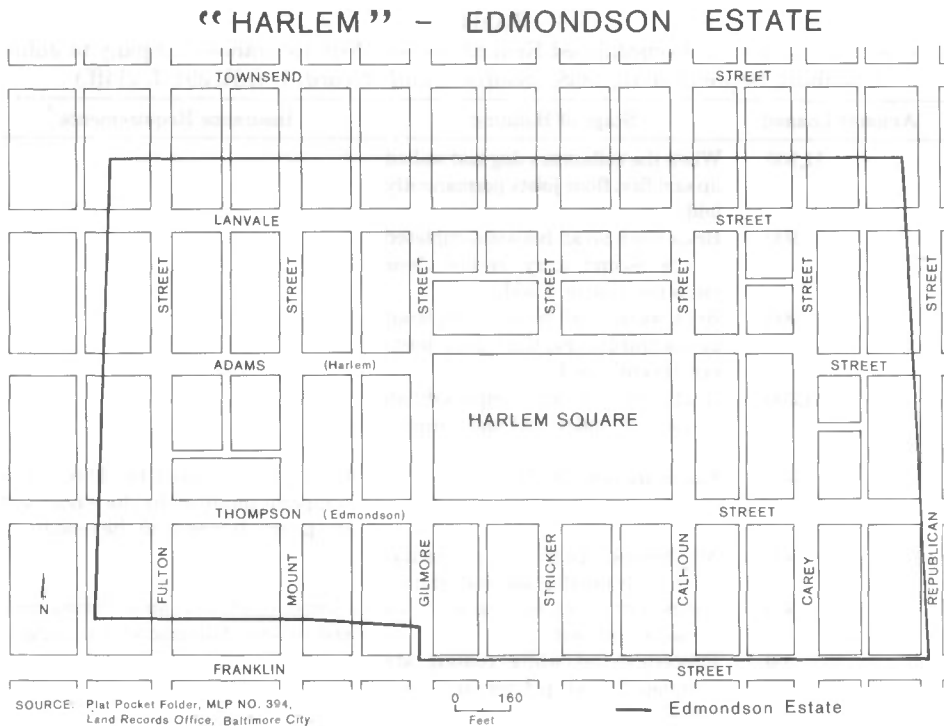


Figure 2

buildings. In addition to building the houses on schedule, Cramblitt was to insure the houses against loss by fire and assign the policies to the lender (Table 1). The term of the loan was indefinite, although one-half of it had to be repaid by April 1, 1870. Interest was payable semi-annually and computed from July 1, 1869, the date by which the houses were to be finished, allowing Cramblitt interest free use of the money until he finished the houses.

It was during the period that Cramblitt was working on these houses that the Maryland Consolidated Land Company transferred its holdings to the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company. The latter continued to lease property and lend money under conditions similar to the agreement with Cramblitt. For example, two leases from the company to Augustus and Edmund Gettier for five lots on the south side of Thompson Street, each 16 feet by 105 feet, reserved a ground rent of \$72. The Gettiers received a loan of \$2,000 per house, also payable in installments. Their mortgage to the lender also specified, though in less detail, the construction requirements for each house.⁷

Cramblitt apparently was a carpenter who contracted to build the houses and then subcontracted to others for work other than carpentry. In November of 1869, the *Sun* described the progress of building on the ground owned by the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company. It noted that Cramblitt had built "upon his own account" six three-story dwellings. Jesse Ogle did the brick work, Joshua Brown the iron work, and Taylor and Brothers the marble

TABLE 1

Terms of the loan from Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company to John Cramblitt, September 16, 1868. (Source: *Land Record*, 1. G.R. 391, f. 214ff.)

Amount Loaned	Stage of Building	Insurance Requirements
\$1,200	When the cellars are dug and walled up and first floor joists permanently laid	
900	Brick work on all houses completed to the second story; second floor joists permanently laid	
900	Brick work on all houses completed to the third story; third floor joists permanently laid	
1,200	Brick work is all completed; all houses are under roof and cornices are up	
600	Floors are completely laid	Each house insured for \$1,000 in a company approved by the lender and the policy delivered to the lender
600	All houses ready for plastering; privy wells are dug and walled up	
600	Entire first coat of plaster in all houses is finished	Houses insured for an additional \$300 and policies delivered to the lender
600	Plastering and white coating are completed; and privies are completed	
900	Doors and shutters are properly hung; 2nd coat of paint is finished; woodwork, water fixtures, pipes and bath tubs completed	
600	Grading, paving, and fencing are complete, outside steps completed	Houses insured for an additional \$50 and policies delivered to the lender
1,500	All houses are completed	The mortgage interest is insured for \$1,600 and policies are delivered to the lender
Total	\$9,600	

work. Wills and McKenzie did the plastering, and Hillary and Brother the painting.⁸

The company did not develop the entire block through the leasing of properties and the advancing of money on mortgages. The November news item in the *Sun* reported that six three-story dwellings had been completed, and eight more were in progress on Republican Street, built "on account of the company." Cramblitt was identified as the carpenter and Jesse Ogle as the brick worker, indicating that Cramblitt worked for the company as well as for himself. In June of 1869, Joseph Stewart leased two lots from the company, and the leases noted that the houses were the fourth and fifth "northwardly of the new row of dwellings recently erected by and for . . ." the company.⁹

The Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company continued to develop the block in a similar manner, with Carey Street and Stockton Alley the last fronts to be developed. On both streets the company leased properties and

lent money on mortgages. Houses on Carey Street were three-story dwellings 16½ feet wide, and subject to ground rents of \$99. The company loaned \$1,700 per house to complete the buildings. On Stockton Alley the houses were two-story dwellings, 11¾ feet wide, subject to a ground rent of \$29.17, and built with advances of \$300 per house.¹⁰

Once the houses were finished, both the leaseholders and the company began to sell their respective interests in the properties. John Cramblitt sold four of the six leases he held before May 25, 1869, that is before the interest on the mortgage began to accumulate. Two of the sales were subject to the payment of the \$1,600 mortgage, but Cramblitt obtained a release of the mortgage for the remaining two before the sale. He sold his remaining two leases during the next year and obtained releases on both of these properties prior to their sale. The Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company quickly sold the freehold title to the six properties. In all but one case, the purchaser of the ground rent was different from the purchaser of the leasehold.¹¹ The company gradually sold its entire interest in the block and completed its major activities by the end of 1872, although its name continues to appear in transactions as late as November of 1881.

It seems that the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company was primarily interested in land development, and after the development was complete, it had no interest in being a landlord. Indexes to property transfers in the city reveal that the company also operated elsewhere in the city, especially in its southern parts. Cramblitt apparently benefitted from his association with the company in several ways. It provided him the opportunity to work independently on his own property, gave him access to working capital with the possibility of paying no interest on the loan, and apparently also provided the opportunity to work on houses built for the company, assuring him a salary independent of the success of his speculative ventures. The indexes to property transfers in the city show that Cramblitt also took leases on properties owned by other companies, and it may be presumed that he made arrangements with them similar to those he had with the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company.

The other fire insurance company active in the development of "Harlem" operated in much the same way as the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company, although there were differences in detail. For example, the Potomac Fire Insurance Company specified that the value of the houses that Samuel Black agreed to build on land leased to him on the west side of Carey Street be \$5,000 when finished and one-half that when under roof. The company agreed to lend him \$2,500 per house, payable in two installments. One-half the loan fell due in one year and the other half in eighteen months; the interest was payable semi-annually.¹² In a later agreement, Black received loan money in four installments, while the other provisions remained the same.¹³

The Potomac Fire Insurance Company also sold the freehold title of some of its land to individuals who then arranged for its development. In October of 1871, Black borrowed money from Orville Horwitz on three properties leased to him by Horwitz, who had purchased the freehold from the fire insurance company. The terms of the mortgage to Horwitz were similar to those in Black's mortgage to the fire insurance company, except that Horwitz agreed to pay the money in seven installments.¹⁴

Land companies that were not insurance companies adopted some practices similar to those of the fire insurance companies, but there were some significant differences in their practices. The land companies leased land and made loans to members, the number of shares redeemed determining the amount of the loan. Loans were repaid with weekly payments which included principal, interest, and any premium charged by the lender. A land company might also lease property to be developed, but instead of a loan to finance the building, it might agree to convey some of the ground rents to the builder when the building was finished.

An example of the first type of transaction is that between William E. Masson and the Baltimore Permanent Building and Land Society. In September of 1870, the land company purchased a large tract of "Harlem" bounded by Harlem, Carey, Stockton, and Thompson Streets. The company immediately leased seven lots on Carey Street, each 17 feet 4 inches by 126 feet 10½ inches, to Masson and reserved a ground rent of \$104 on each lot. Masson then borrowed \$2,400 on each lot, and the money was paid in installments on prescribed dates rather than at the end of various building stages. Masson was to begin repaying the loan in November of 1870, with small weekly payments. In January of 1871, the payments doubled, and in February doubled again. In March they reached \$8.94, to be paid weekly for ten years.¹⁵

A transaction in which the builder eventually acquired title to the ground rents is exemplified by the agreement between Michael McColgan and the Howard Land Company in October of 1876. He agreed to build ten three-story brick dwellings with back buildings on the south side of Edmondson Avenue, to be finished no later than August 1, 1877. The land company agreed to lease seven of the properties to McColgan, reserving a ground rent of \$6 per front foot, and to convey the freehold title to the other three properties to him. The lease and the deed were executed on July 9, 1877. Apparently the company loaned no money to McColgan, nor is there a record of any mortgage from him to any other lender.¹⁶

Not all of the Howard Land Company's lessees borrowed only from the company. In May of 1871, Philip Henzel executed six mortgages to the land company to secure loans on properties leased from it on Gilmor and Harlem Streets. Each loan of \$2,000 redeemed 22 shares of stock in the company, and was paid to him in 10 installments. He agreed to repay the loan in weekly installments of \$8.80 beginning May 20, 1872, and continuing for 10 years. The payment included the principal, interest, and a weekly premium of eight cents per share of stock redeemed. In addition to the mortgages to the land company, Henzel made a mortgage on another property leased from the company. This mortgage was to Samuel, William, and John Harrington to secure a loan of \$3,850 paid in the form of doors, sashes, frames and mouldings. This loan fell due on September 15, 1871. He executed a similar mortgage to John T. Scharf for \$5,000 worth of lumber. This mortgage was a second mortgage on one of the properties already mortgaged to the land company and fell due on March 1, 1872.¹⁷

Each of the land companies, like the Consolidated Real Estate and Fire Insurance Company, soon sold their interests in the parts of "Harlem" which they held. It is apparent that their primary interest was in the development of the property rather than in the future income to be earned from the ground rents.

It seems, then, that one of the major contributions of both the fire insurance companies and the land companies to the residential development of the Edmondson Estate was the organization of the building activity. Individual agreements might cover only a few properties, but the number of such agreements and the number of builders with whom such agreements were made assured the relatively rapid development of their holdings.

The builders also gained from their association with the companies by having access to working capital, although builders such as McColgan and Henzel did not rely totally on the companies. The deferment of interest was another advantage of loans from the companies. The opportunity to work on property developed on the companies' account as well as on their own account provided a hedge against financial difficulties should their own speculations prove less than successful. For those who acquired title to the properties they developed there was the additional benefit to be gained from selling the properties for their own profit.

The role of land and insurance companies was confined to the eastern half of the estate. The cause of this division is not immediately obvious, but may be related to the fact that much of the land in the western half of the estate was the subject of long litigation among various members of the Edmondson family. This litigation resulted in the partition of the property and the appointment of various trustees to oversee the disposal of the property on behalf of Edmondson's heirs. As a result of the legal entanglements, all property transfers required the approval of the Circuit Court, and all purchase money had to be paid in full before a transaction could be made final. It is possible that insurance and investment companies deliberately avoided acquiring land that required protracted involvement in court proceedings.

A number of men bought tracts within the estate, but the major purchasers were John Hubner, Leander Foreman, R. E. Diffenderfer, and Joseph M. Cone. Although the deeds to these men contained much less information about building endeavors than did the deeds to the companies, it is possible to make some inferences about the development process in the western part of the estate. The following discussion is confined to Cone's role in the development of "Harlem" because his activities were important in the development of the estate and provided a foundation for his building activities in later years.¹⁸

Little information is available about Cone's business operations, but a description of Baltimore's industries in 1882 described him as "Among the most energetic and perservering businessmen of Baltimore . . . regarded as one of the most extensive contractors and builders in this city." The description credits him with the building of about 500 houses between 1865 and 1882. By 1882, he employed 75 people, and had an average weekly payroll of \$750.¹⁹ When he died in 1905, his obituary credited him with being the first person in Baltimore to build 100 houses at one time, and of introducing the custom of building whole blocks of similar architecture.²⁰

Over a period of years, Cone acquired large tracts of land within "Harlem." Some of his activities paralleled those of the land companies, while other practices were markedly different. Some of his early acquisitions were subject to agreements similar to those affecting John Cramblitt and Samuel Black. For example, in September of 1874, Cone agreed to build on a parcel of land that had been

awarded to Gabriel D. Clark, Jr., as executor of the estate of one of Edmondson's heirs. The agreement covered eight lots, each 18 feet 9 inches by 95 feet, on the east side of Calhoun Street facing the park. Cone agreed to improve each lot with a three-story brick dwelling and brick back building, and Clark agreed to advance him \$3,756.25 to expedite the building. When the houses were under roof, Cone was to receive a lease for the eight properties, reserving a ground rent of \$6 per front foot, and a deed in fee to the rear portions of the lots, the two sets of lots being separated by a four foot alley. The rear portions of the lots fronted on Woodyear Alley and had a depth of 51 feet. The lease, in which this agreement is described, was executed on December 23, 1874. It did not specify that the money that Clark advanced to Cone was a loan, and there was neither a mention of repayment nor a mortgage on the property from Cone to Clark.²¹ Between September and December Cone sold his forthcoming interest in the rear lots to Samuel Snowden, and Clark executed the deed to Snowden, also on December 23.²² By a series of similar transactions, Lucius Polk and Samuel J. Hough, trustees for others of Edmondson's heirs, sold other parcels in the same block to Cone and Snowden.²³

These transactions produced a complicated pattern of ownership for later residents. Cone and Snowden agreed to close the small alley separating their respective interests soon after they received title in December.²⁴ Purchasers of the leasehold interests on Calhoun Street also purchased the freehold interests on Woodyear Alley, resulting in holdings that were in part leasehold and in part freehold.²⁵ Thus, in these transactions Cone's activities were prescribed, though in less detail than those of Cramblitt and Black. It is also evident that Cone was less financially dependent on the sellers, but the basis of this independence is not clear.

Cone did build on some leasehold properties without the arrangements just described. There were, however, only 13 properties involved, and Cone borrowed no money at the time the leases were made. More often, when a lease was involved Cone had converted his own fee simple interest in a tract to a series of separate leases. For example, in April of 1875, he bought a tract on the west side of Carey Street from William and Amalie Rayner, who had bought the tract the previous August from Lucius Polk. The Rayners took a mortgage for the full amount of the purchase price, \$6,250, to be paid in six months.²⁶ A week later, Cone sold the property to Samuel Snowden for \$1,000, and Snowden assumed the full mortgage to the Rayners.²⁷ At the same time, Cone took a lease from Snowden on the five lots in the property, each subject to a ground rent of \$100 to begin July 1, 1875.²⁸ These actions allowed him to acquire property to develop, but did not involve the long term commitment of his capital. When he began to sell his interests in the properties, early in 1876, he rid himself of the obligation to pay the rents. Thus, by selling his fee simple interest to Snowden, Cone gained \$1,000, paid none of the original purchase price to the Rayners, and paid the ground rents for only a little more than six months.

Cone's activities in the western part of "Harlem" involved primarily property held in fee simple. From 1876 through 1878, he purchased parcels in fee from Clark, Hough and Polk. There were no obligations or restrictions mentioned in the deeds, so that it is impossible to say with certainty that the lots were

unimproved when purchased. That they were so may be inferred from the size of the parcels, which had fronts ranging from 43 feet to 120 feet, and from the lack of reference to existing leases.²⁹ More positive evidence of their unimproved status can be found in the *Sun* of April 20, 1878, when a description of the Harlem Square area enumerated 145 houses built by Cone within the preceeding year on the streets contained within these parcels.³⁰

The sources of Cone's capital are difficult to identify because he did not borrow large amounts of money secured by mortgages. He did borrow small sums at different times from a variety of sources. Among the sources was the Citizens Security and Land Company. The amounts he borrowed from the company were small, ranging from \$2,000 to \$3,500 at any one time, and secured by a mortgage on one piece of property. The terms of the loans varied between one and two years and required semi-annual interest payments.³¹ He also borrowed money for short terms from individual lenders such as Charlotte Spencer, who loaned him \$1,200 on each of three properties, and Samuel Snowden, who loaned him \$2,500 on a property on Calhoun Street. These loans were due in one year and also required semi-annual interest payments.³² As Cone sold his interest in the mortgaged properties, the purchase price often included the assumption of the mortgage by the buyer. Occasionally he sold his interest so quickly after borrowing money that he did not pay even the first installment on the interest.³³ The absence of documents relating to his business operations makes it impossible to determine any other sources of his operating capital.

By the late 1870s, Cone had virtually finished his efforts in "Harlem," and he moved to other parts of the city. He continued to be active in the west and the northwestern parts of the city through the mid-1880s. He continued the practice of buying tracts in estates ready for building, although in some of his other ventures he converted more of his fee simple holdings to leasehold properties before building. He also continued to borrow money in small amounts, usually for short periods, from a number of lenders.³⁴ Thus, his activities in the Edmondson estate established a pattern to which he adhered for several years.

The differences between Cone's practices and those of the land companies suggest that different strategies were suitable for individual and for corporate developers. It is suggested here that one of the factors responsible for these differences was the source of capital available. Cone organized his own building efforts over a long period of time, while the land companies, operating with larger pools of capital, worked quickly and developed large tracts by making agreements with various small builders. Like the land companies, Cone eventually created leases on his properties. Some people, such as Henry Bruns, took leases on several pieces of land,³⁵ others on only one. Cone retained the fee simple rights to some of his properties, but sold his freehold interest in other properties so that there is not a clearly defined pattern to his actions.

Since both the land companies and Cone were involved in the leasing of property, the relationship between ground rents and land development requires some attention. Numerous generalizations exist about the impact of the system on housing, but none is supported by detailed analysis. On one hand, ground rents have been credited with lowering the cost of housing by encouraging building. Owners of vacant land, eager to realize a return on their property, competed with

one another to build houses and lease the property. The result was, supposedly, a constant supply of housing at a relatively low price. Building associations were also thought to be more amenable to lending money on property subject to ground rent than on that which was not. The borrower was borrowing only the cost of the lease, not the cost of the land. The amount borrowed was, therefore, less on leasehold than on freehold property, lowering the mortgage payments. The smaller payments made it possible for people with relatively low incomes to be considered acceptable risks by lenders.³⁶ On the other hand, ground rents have also been cited as a factor in raising the price of housing by encouraging advance building. The practice of lending money in installments at the completion of various stages of a building supposedly raised the price of housing by enabling the owner of the ground rent to charge higher rents for the leases. To justify the higher rents, expensive housing had to be built on the property.³⁷

Either of these interpretations may be correct, although it is difficult to understand how either active building or the practice of lending money in installments can be directly attributed to the existence of a ground rent system rather than to the general nature of speculation. Because very few of the properties in the Harlem Square area were not subject to a ground rent at some stage in the development process, it is impossible to discern any difference in the price of houses attributable only to ground rents. A more extensive study of Baltimore, and comparisons with cities lacking such a system are necessary before the impact of the ground rent system can be fully assessed. It is possible, however, to raise some questions about the impact of the practice of loaning money on advance mortgages. A close look at the rents in the Harlem Square area raises some questions about the validity of the argument that the practice raised the level of the rents. On major streets, the properties developed under the advance mortgage system had ground rents ranging from \$4 to \$6 per front foot. The rents on those properties developed by Cone without the use of such mortgages had a similar range, from \$4.32 to \$7 per front foot. Alleys, such as Stockton Alley, had much lower rents, even when advance mortgages were used. This is presumably a reflection of the narrower street, smaller lots, and lower level of ambience that alley living was expected to provide. Beyond saying that there is a tendency for the highest ground rents to be charged on those properties facing the park, there is no discernible difference on the major streets. It seems that whatever its impact was, the advance mortgage had little effect on the structure of ground rents in the area around Harlem Square. It is perhaps a more important difference that advance mortgages seem to have been more widely available to those who worked with the land companies than to individual builders operating on their own account. As in the case of ground rents in general, a more comprehensive study is necessary to determine the way in which the availability of working capital in this form affected the residential development of the city.

Once the houses were built, their sale and final occupation completed the development process. By 1880, the three-story houses on the major streets around Harlem Square housed primarily native born whites who were employed in a variety of professional, clerical, and proprietary occupations, with a few skilled artisans among them. Many were affluent enough to have live-in servants, some white and some black. The alleys, on the other hand, were home primarily to

blacks who worked as servants, laborers, carters, and in other low paying occupations.³⁸ How they came to reside in the Harlem Square area and the paths they took to get there are subjects beyond the scope of this paper.

This paper has examined the first stage in the residential development of a landed estate in Baltimore, focusing on the developers' acquisition of land and the initial steps in building. It has concentrated on the major streets because more information is available about them. With the exception of Stockton Alley, the minor streets or alleys were built by individual developers, and their development appears to have been embedded in the building of the major street fronts. This is, however, only one facet of the development process. It is difficult to assess the full range of the developers' behavior without an analysis of other facets of development, such as the provision of utilities, and without a more detailed study of the actual building process, the trades involved, the cost of materials, and the wages paid. It is also necessary to know to what extent developers were also builders, as was Joseph M. Cone, or how the builder worked with the developer if they were different. A thorough study of these relationships and of the financing of building activity is necessary before it is possible to evaluate the risks involved in speculation and to determine the benefits that accrued to the speculator. The activities of the builders and the developers were critical to the growth of the nineteenth-century city, providing the housing of most of the people. If we are to understand that growth and the environment it shaped, we must begin to unravel the ties that bound landowner, developer, builder, and resident.

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BOOK REVIEWS

U. S. F. Constellation: "Yankee Racehorse." By Sanford Sternlicht and Edwin M. Jameson. (Cockeysville, Md.: Liberty Publishing Co., 1981. Pp. 187. \$4.95.)

The authors have provided Baltimore with the answer to a long felt need; that is to say, a very readable and fairly complete operational history of its own ship, the U. S. Frigate *Constellation*. They very briefly allude to but avoid presenting the details of the erstwhile acrimonious debate regarding her authenticity and rightly prefer to treat her for what she is—an honored representative of more than one hundred and fifty years of valuable service in the U. S. Navy. In recounting her career, they show that it parallels the endeavors and triumphs but also the set-backs and vicissitudes in the history of our Navy.

Throughout the career of *Constellation*, like the Navy itself, she was called upon to perform many and varied functions in American national and international activity. Her grand victories in battle are well recounted but, of course, already known to most. How much more interesting to learn of her more prosaic pursuits: pummelling pirates, snaring slavers, conducting diplomatic confrontations, transporting national treasures, providing sound training for future officers and seamen, and always, but especially in the twilight of her service, being a symbol of the lasting traditions that she always exemplified throughout her active life.

In addition to the particulars of her service as an active naval vessel, the authors, in the first chapter, discuss the policies and problems that involved her and the Navy during the few years before she was launched. The next three chapters describe in detail the life aboard a naval warship in 1800, as it affected both the ordinary seaman and the officer. These vignettes of life aboard ship are substantiated and vivified by lengthy quotations from contemporary documents. All of this provides a suitable frame for the recounting of her subsequent lengthy history.

In summary, the authors have produced a book, though brief, that should be a treasured resource to all who take pride in our Frigate and in the Navy she served. Moreover, it is a book that should be recommended reading for all the young people in our schools.

Maryland Historical Society

F. E. CHATARD

Wicomico County History. By George H. Corddry. (Salisbury, Maryland: Peninsula Press, 1981. Pp. x, 272. \$19.95, cloth.)

Although Wicomico County has been in existence for only 115 years, its history is rich and diverse and spans the centuries. George H. Corddry's *Wicomico County History* begins in an earlier colonial time when the county was part of Somerset and Worcester counties and brings the story to the present. Originally conceived as a project of the Wicomico Bicentennial Commission in 1976, the book was begun and abandoned by a prominent local historian and only through the dedicated work of Corddry and the Bicentennial Committee did the book become a reality. George Corddry picked up the project in 1978 as both author and editor and its mixed "topical-chronological-geographical format" is testimony to earlier more troubled times.

Wicomico County was formed in 1867 after a bitter convention and petition fight in Somerset and Worcester. At stake was whether or not the river port of Salisbury would become a new county seat and emerge as a commercial center. Also, Corddry notes, the

creation of a new county was one way of increasing the influence of the conservative gentry in the Maryland Senate. Although it lost to Emancipation in 1864, the gentry was determined not to lose again. Many residents, however, vigorously opposed the idea of a new county.

Salisbury was the root of the problem. As Corddry explains, "Salisbury's future was restricted by political and geographical bounds. Something had to be done or it would slowly strangle." This may explain the strange relationship that has existed between the town and the county. Property-conscious farmers have always worried that the cost of erecting buildings and facilities in Salisbury would raise county taxes. Also, historically the port of Salisbury has been more in touch with the outside world of commerce and industry than its parent county.

Salisbury began as a fifteen acre river landing at the head of the Wicomico River erected by an act of the Provincial Assembly in 1732. Situated in marshes and bogs that were often ankle deep in water at high tide, Salisbury was an engineering problem and its first hundred years was a period of painfully slow growth. The town did not become an important Chesapeake port until after the Civil War when extensive dredging made it possible for steamboats and schooners to navigate to Salisbury. During the post-Civil War era Salisbury became an important lumber and grain milling center.

More than anything else, the railroad boom on the Eastern Shore in the late nineteenth century guaranteed the fortunes of both Salisbury and Wicomico County. The extension of the Eastern Shore Railroad from Delmar to Salisbury fixed the county in the commercial orbit of Wilmington and Philadelphia. In the 1890s the construction of the Baltimore, Chesapeake, and Atlantic Railway, the much beloved "Black Cinders and Ashes," from Claibourne to Ocean City established the county as the crossroads of the Eastern Shore. The county's commercial prosperity enabled it to survive and rise phoenix-like from the disastrous fires that consumed Salisbury in 1860 and 1886. Also the development of the refrigerated railroad car helped to stimulate the county as a strawberry and seafood market center.

Corddry is at his best in providing a detailed, scholarly, and surprisingly candid chronicle of changing race relations in Wicomico County. During the post-Civil War period and well into the twentieth century, writes Corddry, "blacks were often treated with an amused tolerance or good-natured contempt." As long as blacks followed the color line race relations were peaceful. In 1931, however, passions boiled over when Matt Williams, a local black, killed Daniel Elliott, a prominent local businessman. A mob of angry Shoremen subsequently lynched Williams in Salisbury. Two years later Salisbury was the scene of a violent confrontation between Eastern Shoremen and the state militia over whether Governor Ritchie's National Guardsmen could take the accused lynchers of George Armwood, a black farm worker, from Somerset County to stand trial in Baltimore.

Although Wicomico County withstood explosive racial confrontations in the 1960s, it remained relatively untouched by the fires of public hatred that consumed its neighbor city of Cambridge. White businessmen in Wicomico County and moderate blacks formed the Biracial Commission in 1961. Through the efforts of this Commission, Salisbury built an integrated nursing home, quietly began the integration of its public schools, and repelled Ku Klux Klan activities. National Guardsmen were called out briefly in 1968 to quell disturbances caused by the police shooting of a local black. As Corddry notes, "tensions were high for several days but the massive show of force and the curfew gradually brought the situation under control." Tough-minded conservative whites saw the need for racial accommodation as an alternative to social instability; and a rising generation of middle class blacks in the community was willing to risk being labeled "Uncle Tom" in the name of school integration and social peace.

Contributions by other authors in *Wicomico County History* vary in quality. Dr. Jessie L. Fleming's chapter on the cultural development of the county is insightful and well-

organized. Tracing local cultural life from the Victorian theater companies of the nineteenth century to "Music Ad Libitum" and the Community Players theater group in the 1980s, Dr. Fleming points out that "far from being culturally deprived because of distance from the metropolitan centers of art and theater, the community has developed its own resources and provided more opportunities at home than many communities of similar size that are closer to cities."

The most disappointing chapter in *Wicomico County History* is that written by Sylvia Bradley on the religious life of the community. Her essay offers no unified perspective on local religious life. There has always been a close relation on the Eastern Shore between civic and spiritual ideals and Wicomico County has always mixed prayer breakfasts with boosterism. Also revivals and camp meetings in Wicomico have always offered a release from guilt and darker thoughts that could poison community life.

For the most part, however, George Corddry has written and edited a well-researched and thoughtful local history that will be the standard reference on the county for a long time to come.

Our own twentieth century has seen the passing of traditional rural society on the Eastern Shore. While county villages like Willards, Pittsville, Allen, and Sharptown cling tenaciously to the ways of the past, new forces are transforming the county. These forces are best reflected in the career of Frank Perdue, the chicken king and multi-millionaire of Salisbury. The expansion of Perdue industries and other poultry integrators in Wicomico has brought a large measure of prosperity to farmers who now participate in a corn-soybean-broiler local economy. The health of agribusiness in the county has prevented outside money from snapping up the land and turning it into a preserve of absentee landlords and vacationing tourists.

The community has not grown according to any particular plan and doesn't reflect the aspirations of a wealthy founder or dreamer. There is nothing cute or scenic to discover about Salisbury; it will never be St. Michaels. Wicomico County has been and will remain a sprawling commercial crossroads on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Its genius is to be found not in its architecture or in its waterfront but in the lives of its people.

University of Maryland, Eastern Shore

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN

Those Old Placid Rows: The Aesthetic and Development of the Baltimore Rowhouse. By Natalie W. Shivers. (Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, 1981. Pp. 44. Photographs, plan drawings, bibliography. \$3.95.)

It is curious that the most ubiquitous and distinctive feature of Baltimore architecture has received so little scholarly attention over the years. Yet until recently, the vast blocks of rowhouses synonymous with the Baltimore streetscape have been largely overlooked.

The limited treatment in Spencer and Howland's *Architecture of Baltimore* and the much more extensive writings of Robert Alexander have principally touched on the work of a few well-known architects, leaving a vast array of buildings and history untouched. Indeed, while thousands of rowhouses survive, the buildings designed by nationally known architects such as Benjamin Latrobe, Maximilian Godefroy and Robert Mills have largely disappeared.

Fortunately, Baltimore rowhousing seems to have found its way into the limelight at last. In recent years, the intensive research of Natalie Shivers, Mary Ellen Hayward, and the staffs of the Peale Museum and the Commission for Historic and Architectural Preservation have done much to collect and record the history of these seemingly monotonous structures.

Those Old Placid Rows is the distillation of several years of work by Natalie Shivers, a Bolton Hill native now studying in the graduate architecture program at Princeton. The

core of the book incorporates her prize-winning senior essay, written as an undergraduate at Yale, amplified over the last few years by extensive research and supplemented by measured plans and field documentation by Baltimore architect Michael F. Trostel.

The book is divided into two principal parts. The opening section considers the origins and historical development of the rowhouse as a housing form, the aesthetics of the rowhouse, and the social, economic and geographical influences that favored its use.

Tracing the rowhouse to European sources, and particularly to Georgian London, the author briefly discusses key developments that increasingly favored rowhouse construction in densely populated urban areas. Brief consideration is given to the early appearance of the rowhouse form in Philadelphia and other American cities before she launches into a more detailed analysis of Baltimore.

This analysis consists first of an historical review of the principal figures in the development of Baltimore architectural fashion. The author concludes that skilled professionals such as Latrobe, Godefroy and Mills introduced many key design elements to Baltimore, and that these basic ideas were then adapted and interpreted by local architects and builders in a variety of ways.

In addition to design aesthetics and fashion, the rowhouse in Baltimore was influenced to a considerable degree by social, economic and geographical factors. The size of town lots and the geographic character of the city encouraged development of blocks of long narrow houses, and a combination of building codes and readily available materials shaped the basic appearance of these structures. Early efforts to reduce the threat of fire required the use of masonry construction and height requirements were necessary to assure fire control. The ready availability of high quality bricks on the local market favored brick over stone and the numerous marble quarries within close range of Baltimore led to the widespread use of marble steps and occasionally trim.

In the second part of the book, the author considers the development of the Baltimore rowhouse over time. She traces the earliest appearance of the rowhouse to the early post-colonial period, and follows successive stages in the architectural and aesthetic development of the form. The small and simple houses of the late 18th and early 19th century are considered as well as the large and stylish townhouses of the wealthy, and a broad variety of architectural styles are discussed and described. She concludes with an analysis of the demise of the rowhouse in the late 19th and early 20th century, and suggests some reasons for that decline.

In conclusion, the book serves as an excellent overview of the rowhouse in Baltimore and, taken in conjunction with Mary Ellen Hayward's recent article in *Winterthur Portfolio*, should generate considerable interest in this subject. The author has produced a work that should prove of equal interest and value to both the general public and professional historians. It is particularly refreshing to find an architectural study that is extensively illustrated with measured plan drawings, a sure sign of serious scholarship.

Maryland Historical Trust

ORLANDO RIDOUT V

Part of Medicine, Part of Me: Musings of a Johns Hopkins Dean. By Thomas Bourne Turner (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Medical Schools. 1981. Pp. 245. Indexed. Illustrated. \$18.50.)

The title of the book is most appropriate: seventeen autobiographical essays by a former Dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine. Because the author concentrates largely on his family and social life, the treatment of the medical world is quite superficial. The "musings" offer some tenuously associated thoughts and memories of a life started at the turn of the century, without any deep reflection.

Thomas Bourne Turner, scion of several southern Maryland families, was part of the Johns Hopkins medical institutions for about 50 years, for a time head of the department of microbiology at the School of Public Health and Hygiene. At other times he had a hand in the testing of polio vaccine, the problems of wartime prostitution, and post-war public health issues. His research interests shifted from an investigation of syphilis to that of yaws and, most recently, to the problem of alcoholism. His has been a life closely connected with medical research and training.

The essays are arranged in roughly chronological order beginning with his earliest childhood experiences in a touching tribute to rural southern Maryland called "The Good Earth," through his retirement on Gibson Island ("Full Circle"), an elitist enclave north of Annapolis on Chesapeake Bay. Turner's adolescent years are encapsulated under the rubric, "Great Books," even though the St. John's College he went to was still a military school. Its curriculum, however, based on the classical arts program, provided a good foundation for a lifetime of reading.

We are reminded, in his musings, that deficiencies in secondary school education were not treated with despair in those years when higher education was limited to select groups. St. John's College, like others, without apology provided a "subfreshman" course, a preparatory school staffed by the college faculty. Turner, with his somewhat limited, rural, one-room-school background, entered that pre-college class in 1916 and graduated from St. John's five years later. He decided on a career in medicine, in spite of a minimal science background, and moved into the "Front Room of Life" at the University of Maryland Medical School. His plans at first were to become an ordinary country doctor.

Turner applied to the Hopkins for postdoctoral training, a new and rare part of medical education in those days, but which first introduced him to research and intensive clinical experience. In these essays on his own medical education, Turner reflects on the metamorphosis of medical training from the days of his very modest, somewhat inadequate preparation, to the intensive concentration on the sciences, research, and specialization of more recent times. He is not critical, however, nor even very thoughtful in his comparison of practices then and today, but merely descriptive, sometimes noting with a touch of wonder that the changes did occur, sometimes suggesting how it happened, as in the essay, "Education for Uncertainty," but not why.

In the next group of essays, Turner concentrates on the personal and social (with the emphasis on the latter) pleasures indirectly derived from his profession. When he tells of his travels to Haiti and Jamaica to investigate syphilis and yaws, we learn even more about the social life of the tropics. Of his three years at the Rockefeller Institute, we hear most about the erudite society he cavorted with in New York City. Of the people he met tracking typhus with the army of occupation after the second world war, the most memorable was a Brigadier General who "collected rivers he had peed into," always on the lookout for a "personally unpolluted river."

A good half of the book deals with the period after the war and his return to teaching, research, and administration at the Hopkins medical institutions. His own research is mentioned only briefly, although the endnotes include references to his published works. Turner "muses" mostly about the people he knew and worked with—the great, the near great, and the obscure—acknowledging in print all those who had contact with him as colleagues, mentors, students, friends, and family members, lightly touching on their contributions to science, the running of the Hopkins, or to the world of literature. The index includes a listing of all these "Familiar Faces."

No single theme unites all the essays, but I do detect one pervasive quality—a simple, what seems to me naive, acceptance of all that has happened in the medical world during this century. Turner rarely touches on the ethical problems of medical research, nor does he comment seriously on the inner workings of the powerful government committees, on

which he served, that oversee the granting of research money. How much more valuable these reflections might have been if the author had talked more about the decision-making process or provided some sense of the interpersonal conflicts within these groups. Turner's musings are of sweetness and light; the dark side is ignored.

In the essay most revealing of his personality, "Men and Cities," Turner focuses on the non-medical side of his intellectual life, an intellect nurtured by the Hamilton Street Club and other male-only institutions. His matter-of-fact sexism and elitism offer a fascinating glimpse into the male-dominated world that has so effectively barred women and minorities from participating in the professions. Turner's continued satisfaction with that world is a not-so-comfortable reminder that the barriers have not yet come down. "Women," Dr. Turner affirms, "with the momentary cooperation of a man create men, but men create great bridges, great satellites, great music, great ideas."

This is not a scholar's book, but will be of interest locally. It adds little to the already published histories of the Hopkins Medical institutions, including Turner's own *Heritage of Excellence*. The many names mentioned in the text and listed in the index guarantee local interest. Scattered through the essays are some pleasantly sentimental descriptions of Maryland—the Bay, the rural south, Baltimore City—which will appeal to the lovers of Marylandia. The photographs were taken by A. Aubrey Bodine or were borrowed from various institutional archives and personal collections.

Morgan State University

ELAINE G. BRESLAW

Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade; The View from the Chesapeake, 1700–1776. By Jacob M. Price. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980. Pp. viii, 233. \$18.50.)

This slender volume describes the capital and credit relationships that sustained the mid-eighteenth-century Chesapeake tobacco trade. Moreover, the author's focus is as much upon the development of such relationships among British exporting and importing merchants which enables us to see how the Chesapeake trade evolved out of this larger and antecedent context. This is an excellent contribution to our understanding of the financial mechanisms of that trade and is apparently prolegomenous to an expanded study of the subject.

The plan of the book is straightforward. After introducing the reader to the development of British capital and credit markets, and their impact upon Chesapeake agriculture, Price describes the capitalization structure of those British firms engaged in that trans-Atlantic trade. Then follow three chapters on the sources of mercantile credit: "bond" or personal liability; banks; and commerce. The next chapter drives home a number of points by addressing the significance of credit to Chesapeake agriculturalists during the financial panic of 1772. The last chapter beautifully summarizes "The Implications for British Industrial and Commercial Development." There are also four appendices that detail or document profit margins, the capitalization of the Scots factors, the credit and cargo trade, and the British-Chesapeake trade 1669 to 1776. A nice index concludes the volume.

Prices makes several observations that non-specialists may find new and perhaps interesting. First, he finds the origins of institutionalized private banking lay in Great Britain's foreign trade. Second, he believes that commercial credit played a far greater role in the development of capital market institutions than has been previously thought. Third, he points out that the role of the new merchant in the Chesapeake following the French and Indian War needs greater study. And, fourth, that a complete study is needed of those American merchants as a group from the 1760s to the election of Jefferson. In his final

chapter, Price refers to the changed structure of the Anglo-American trade after 1815 and cities standard and older literature. I would suggest that the change—both in structure and consciousness—occurred in the crucial time from 1797 to 1804, and that the records of merchants in the larger seaports to the north of Baltimore should be consulted.

In sum, this is a rather neat package: concise, orderly, and cogent. Specialists will enjoy it and look forward to the expanded version; non-specialists will find provocative, new ideas, and a fine writing style.

UMBC

GARY L. BROWNE

NEWS AND NOTICES

NEW MANAGEMENT SERIES FOR MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL AGENCIES KICKS OFF WITH BOOK ENTITLED "MUSEUMS AND THE LAW."

The American Association for State and Local History launches this month a new multi-volume series on management practices for directors of museums and historical agencies. The first volume in the series is entitled *MUSEUMS AND THE LAW*, by Marilyn Phelan, J.D.; clothbound reference edition/287 pages/\$21.00 (SD) or \$15.75 to members of the AASLH.

The book, written by Dr. Marilyn Phelan, professor of law at Texas Tech University, interprets the law for museums as it relates to *Organizational Structure, Museums and the IRS, Rights of Artists in Their Works, Museum Acquisitions, Employee Relations, and Duties of Museum Directors and Trustees*.

The AASLH Management Series will be a multi-year effort to provide the nation's historical agencies and museums with sound management practices. Other volumes planned for the series include: *PUBLIC RELATIONS MANAGEMENT, MUSEUM EVALUATION, FUNDRAISING AND DEVELOPMENT, LONG-RANGE PLANNING, PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT, and THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR*. Museum directors and administrators are encouraged to place their names on standing order to receive all volumes in the series as they are published.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNOUNCES LITERARY PRIZES

The Florida Historical Society annually awards two literary prizes for original work done in Florida history. These awards were announced at the 1982 meeting held in Fort Lauderdale on May 7-8. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for 1981-82 went to Mr. John Sugden of Hereward College, Coventry, England, for his article "The Southern Indians in the War of 1812: The Closing Phase," which appeared in the January 1982 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was presented to Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., of Florida State University, Tallahassee, for his book, *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South*. This volume was published by The Free Press, a division of Macmillan Publishing Company.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HIGHLIGHTS

BALTIMORE COUNTY

St. Timothy's School is One Hundred Years Old

St. Timothy's School in Stevenson is celebrating its Centennial this year, and on September 14 will open its doors for the 100th class of entering students.

Founded in 1882 by Miss Sarah Randolph Carter, the School was originally located in Catonsville in the old Fusting House near the present St. Timothy's Church. Thirty-six students, primarily from the Catonsville area, were enrolled the first year, and by the end of the second year, the School had outgrown its quarters. A site was chosen for a new school just east of the Church on the grounds where St. Timothy's Hall, a boys' military academy, once stood.

In the years following, enrollment increased substantially, with students coming from Washington, Wilmington, Philadelphia, and as far away as Charleston and Savannah. In



FIGURE 1. Fusting House, Catonsville, Maryland.
First Building of St. Timothy's School, in use 1882-1884.

1935, the recently-formed Board of Trustees, under the chairmanship of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants of Baltimore, purchased the School from Miss Carter, and in 1936, Miss Ella Robinson Watkins, a native Baltimorean, became headmistress. Miss Watkins retired in 1964.

In 1950, having outgrown the Catonsville facilities entirely, the School purchased 225 acres in Stevenson overlooking the Green Spring Valley, their present location. The land included a spacious stone main house known as Twiford, which had been built in 1939. A

new classroom building and dormitory were added and students began classes in the fall of 1951.

St. Timothy's current headmaster, appointed in 1978, is Charles P. Lord, and the president of the Board of Trustees, whose term began in 1974, is Mrs. Redmond C. S. Finney of Baltimore.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

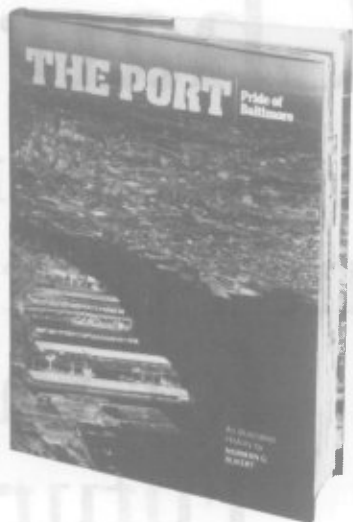
Washington County Historical Society Seeks Docents

The Washington County Historical Society is urgently in need of additional hosts and hostesses for the Miller House and Beaver Creek School. Serving as a docent constitutes a very real and worthwhile community service. It also provides an opportunity to meet interesting people, to increase one's knowledge of local history, and can be done at times of one's own choosing, usually one afternoon a month. Instructions and written notes are given to each volunteer so previous knowledge or experience is not necessary. What is necessary is a desire to become an active member of the Society by becoming a docent.

Interested parties should call or write the Washington County Historical Society, 135 West Washington Street, Hagerstown MD 21740, (303) 797-8782.



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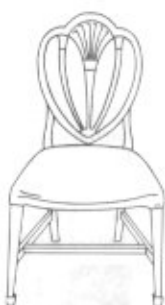
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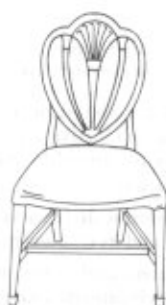
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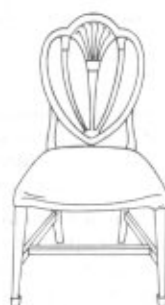
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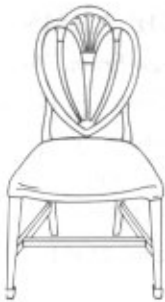
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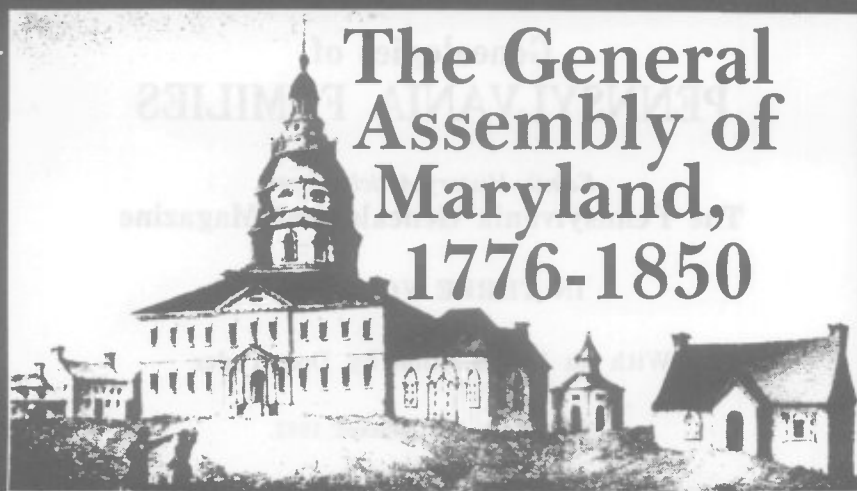
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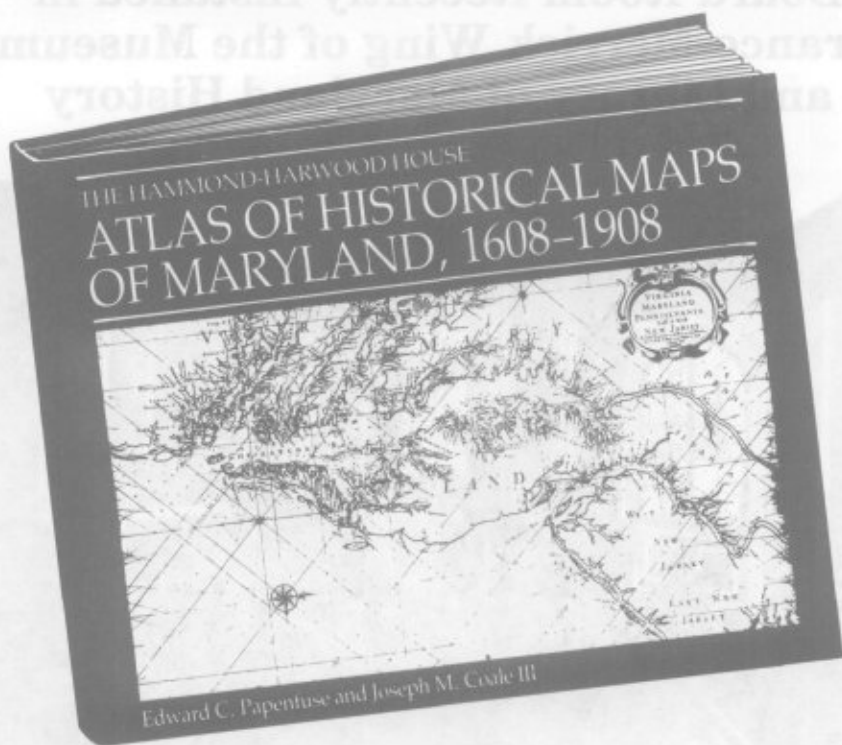


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